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IX.—THE PHONOLOGY OF THE PISTOJESE  
DIALECT.

INTRODUCTION.

The Dialect of Pistoja and of the Pistojesse mountains forms one of the group of Tuscan dialects. The writer spent six months in 1892 at Pistoja and in the villages of the Pistojesse mountains, in order to collect material for the following monograph, which is based chiefly on the *patois* spoken by the natives of this district.

My purpose in this study is two-fold: to consider the dialect first from an historical and a physiological point of view; and secondly in comparison with other Tuscan (Italian) dialects. The sources at my disposal were the MSS. of the libraries and cathedrals of Florence and Pistoja; private MSS. and publications; the speech of the people of Pistoja and of the peasants of the Pistojesse mountains. At Florence I found seven MSS.<sup>1</sup> in the Pistojesse vernacular, one of the XIII century, dated 1259 (six years before the birth of Dante); the remaining six are of the XIV century.<sup>2</sup> At Pistoja I found

<sup>1</sup>Two of these MSS. were published by me in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. VIII, cols. 208-214.

<sup>2</sup>I wish here to acknowledge my indebtedness to Signor E. G. Parodi, of the *Istituto di Studi Superiori di Firenze*, who kindly helped me to avail myself of these MSS.

several MSS. and a considerable amount of printed matter. The most important MS. noted here is that of *Albertano da Brescia*, bearing the date of 1268. It was published by Ciampi at the beginning of the present century. Another valuable MS., which I propose to publish in the near future, is the *Apochalasis di Iohañi*, probably of the XIV century. Of the publications, the most interesting are those of Prof. Gherardo Nerucci, the *Sonetti Popolari* (1890) of Alfredo Pasquali, and especially the anonymous *Pratica della Grammatica per le Scuole Elementari del Circondario di Pistoja*, 1887.

After collecting all the MSS. and printed material I could control, my attention was turned to the speech of the people, in order to verify the pronunciation of what I had already obtained from the printed page or from script, and to supplement this material by drawing directly on the vernacular of the country. To this end I spent about two months in the hospitable and beautiful home, only two miles distant from Pistoja, of Signor Gherardo Nerucci, a retired professor, who has written several valuable works in the *patois*. To his kindly assistance I owe much of my material; he not only supplied me with his own books, and made it possible for me to converse freely with the peasants on his own farm, but also introduced me at Pistoja to the professors and librarians, and aided me in procuring lodgings in private families where I was sure to hear the *patois* in its purity.

During July and August I lived at Cutigliano, a pleasant little village in the Pistojesse mountains near San Marcello. Wherever I went abundant opportunities presented themselves for hearing the natives speak their dialect. Since the literary language is taught in all the schools, the *patois* is gradually dying out; in fact one cannot get the dialect in its absolute purity except from the older inhabitants, and especially from the old women.

In the following monograph I have proved that the orthography of the MSS. is phonetic; by the side of the old MS. forms are put the modern products, just as they are pronounced by the people to-day.

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<sup>1</sup> Also published by E. Monaci in his *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, pp. 160-1.

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## VOWELS.

### A

#### § 1. TONIC A.

(a) *a* remains.

1. *-ario*, the learned form, is found in old Pistojesse where the modern has *-ajo*: *operario* (*J.*, 3).

2. *-aro*, half-learned: *ventaliaro* (*Gr. P.*, 43).—Cf. *Luc. calsolaro, capellaro, Racc.*, 246.

3. *-are*: *cavallare* (*Ricc.*, 5).

4. *-aio* is found in old Pistojesse: *denaio* (*I. P.*, 437).—Cf. *Luc. denaio, B. Luc.*, 12.

5. *-ajo*, half-learned: *boajo* (*j=ii*).<sup>1</sup>

6. *-aglio*<sup>2</sup> is used along the valley of the Lima, particularly from Cutigliano to the Lucchese mountains. Most of my examples are taken from the *Mea di Polito*:<sup>3</sup> *gennaglio* (*M.* 8), *acciaglio* 12, *staglio* 16, *agoraglio* 25, *merciaglio, merdaglio, acquaglio* 30, *macellaglio* 43, *pollaglio* 91, *carbonaglio*

<sup>1</sup> cf. Petròcchi, *Vocab. Pron. e Ort.*, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, p. 210, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Introduction.



108, *Feraglio* (*Due Lett.*, 19), *liscaglio* (*Uso*, 49); *paglio* *părîm* (*M.* 23) is not a suffix.—Cf. *Luc. febbaglio*, *Racc.*, 253, *granaglio*, *fornaglio*.<sup>1</sup>

7. *-aglia*: *grondaglia* (*M.* 92), *migliaglia* 102, *anguinaglia* (*Uso*, 505), *fungaglia*, *poveraglia*.<sup>2</sup>

(b)  $a > e$ : *deva* (*M.* 5), *andeva* (*N.* 123) and *steva* 160 are formed by analogy with verbs of the second conjugation, though Wentrup (*Neapol. Mundart*, 7)<sup>3</sup> cites the corresponding Neapolitan forms *ḡeva* and *steva* as examples of phonetic change.—Cf. *Sen. dea*, *stea*; <sup>4</sup>—*Luc. devo*, *stevo*, *andevo*; <sup>5</sup>—*Pis. devo*, *andevo*.<sup>6</sup>

(c)  $a > e$ .

1. Before *n*: *dechiarendo* (*MS.* 1444), *trionfente* (*C.* 25) and *sanguinente* 26 are formed by analogy with the second conjugation.—Cf. *Sen. lavorente*.<sup>7</sup>

2. Before *r*: *sbërno* *ḡbrănũm* (*M.* 43) and *përi* *părîm* (*I. P.*, 466) are Gallicisms; the *e* in *eria* (*S.*, 6), found only in *all'eria*, is due to dissimilation; *era* < *ârîam*: *primera* [*mente*] *Al.*, 75, *lumera* (*Cino*, 228), *manera* 184.

(d)  $a > i\epsilon$ .

*-ieri* < *-ârîũm*, under French influence,<sup>8</sup> is a very common form in both old and modern Pistoiese: *consilieri* (*Al.* 41), *pensieri* 58, *gabellieri*, *gonfalonieri* (*J.* 9), *cancellieri* 11, *terzieri* 24, *sparvieri* 29, *destrieri* (*I. P.* 6), *forestieri* 451, *staffieri* (*Ricc.*, 7), *mazieri* 60, *aversieri* (*M.* 50), *cavalieri* 68, *cimièri*, *arcieri* 68, *n.*, *levrieri* (*S.* 94), *paravieri* 110, *carubinièri* 116, *camberieri* (*C.* 60), *barbieri* (*N.* 12), *currieri* 14, *perruchièri* 230, *giardinieri* (*Gr. P.* 10), *panieri* 13, *quartieri* 16, *meschièri* 17, *brigadieri* 23.—Cf. *Sen. cancellieri*, *candelieri*, *carnieri*, *cavalieri*, *cellieri*, *conseglieri*, *destrieri*, *dispensieri*, *enfermieri*,

<sup>1</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 116.

<sup>2</sup> Giuliani, *Deliz. d. Parl. Tosc.*, II, 340.

<sup>3</sup> *A. G.*, IV, 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 433-4.

<sup>5</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>7</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 520.

<sup>8</sup> For another explanation cf. Ascoli, *A. G.* I, 484-5, *n.*, and Canello, *A. G.* III, 301.

*forestieri, fornieri, gonfalonieri, ingegneri, leggieri, mestieri, panieri, pel(l)egrinieri, pensieri, scardazzieri, spezieri, verzieri*;<sup>1</sup>—Luc. *forestieri* *B. Luc.*, 38, *banchieri* 71, *vinactieri* 72, *ovrieri* 101, *Droghieri* (*Racc.* 248);—Sicil. *pumpieri, argentieri, currieri, cammerieri*.<sup>2</sup>

#### Variants.

(a)  $a > i$ : *brindolo* O. H. G. *brâto* (*S.* 7).

(b)  $a (+ n) > o$ : *gronchio*, (*A. G.* XII, 130), *cionco*, 128.—Cf. Luc. *gronchio* *A. G.* XII, 130, *cionco*, 128.

### § 2. ATONIC A.

#### 1. Pretonic a.

(a)  $a (+ r)$  remains under influence of the Lucchese (?): *diavularia* (*M.* 8), *porcaria* 12, *biancaria* 24, *gallantaria* 64, *chiaacchiaria* 65, *furfantaria*, *villanaria* 77, *grazionaria* 86, *acquarello* (*S.* 27), *ostaria* (*Gr. P.* 43).—Cf. Sen. *amarò, amarei*, etc.;<sup>3</sup>—Luc. *argentaria, porcaria, calzarotto, caldarone, lazzaretto*;<sup>4</sup>—Pis. *pagaria, cavallaria, Catarina, comparare, Stentarello, Migliarino, condannarò, confessarè, lasceremo*.<sup>5</sup>

(b)  $a > e$ .

1. Before  $r$ : *cherubine* (*M.* 33); the following three examples are due to dissimilation: *seramento* (*Al.* 68), *mercure* (*Gr. P.* 40), *deranno*.

2. By incomplete assimilation: *Bietrice* (*B.* 77), *Sensone* (*C.* 99).

3. Special cases: *setanasso* (*Ricc.*, 57), by dissimilation, *trebucco* (*J.* 25) cf. Fr. *trébucher*.—Cf. Sen. *effetto* = *affetto*, *Nepoleone, secrestia, seramento*;<sup>6</sup>—Pis. *Sensogna* = *Sassonia, Bernabe*.

(c)  $a > i$ .

1. In hiatus: *piese pāgēnsēm* (*Ricc.*, 30) by incomplete assimilation.

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 521.

<sup>2</sup> Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 523.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 113.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>6</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 522.

2. By the influence of the following *s, z* the *a* is raised to the *i*: *monisterio* (*B.* 80), *niscondere* (*C.* 84), *culizione* 10.

3. By dissimilation: *imbasciadore*, *imbaciata* (*Ricc.*, 22).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *monisterio*;<sup>1</sup>—Flor. *monistero Purg.*, XVIII, 122, *colizione Tancia*, 976, *caticrisma C. Son.*, 10;—Sen. *colizione C. Son.*, 68;—Luc. *imbasciatore Can. Pop.*, 17;—N. Ital. *munistiero*, *mortilitade*.<sup>2</sup>

(d)  $a > o$ .

1. Before labial: *oprire*, perhaps formed according to *coprire*;<sup>3</sup> *opritura*, *oprimento* (*C.* 85).

2. Before *l, r* by assimilation: *olocco alucum*<sup>4</sup> (*Gr. P.* 15), *eorogio* Grk. *αἰμορρογία* (*M.* 90), *forbottare bărbuľiäre* (*C.* 11).

3. Before *n*: *sgronchirse crăncuľire* (*M.* 90), *scioncare*, § 1, variants, (b).—Cf. Flor. *occidente Tancia*, 948;—Rom. *oprire* (*Belli*, 9).<sup>5</sup>

(e)  $a > u$ .

1. Before labial: *cherubine* (*M.* 33), *carubinieri* (*S.* 116), *cammumilla* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Special cases: *intruompere* (*Al.* 23) is due to incomplete assimilation, *uccidentale* (*Al.* 54) is influenced by *uccidere*, and *usciolo äšölüm* (*S.* 6) by *uccello*.—Cf. Aret. *cherubina* (*Belli*);<sup>5</sup> Rom. *cherubigneri* (*Belli, Son.*, 165).<sup>5</sup>

#### Apheresis.

*liso* *allisum* (*Uso*, 40), *locco* 533, *roganza* 834, *uto* (*C.* 8), *'gnamo* 9, *leatio* 79, *micizia* (*Gr. P.* 19).—Cf. Flor. *liso* (*Uso*, 40), *gnamo C. Son.*, 43;—Sen. *manza*, *Vignone*,<sup>6</sup> *'ndai* (*C. Son.*, 32), *'uto* 52;—Pis. *'gnamo C. Son.*, 5;—N. Ital. *giron*, *sassino*.<sup>7</sup>

#### Syncope.

Pretonic *a* is sometimes syncopated in the Fut. and Condit. tenses of the strong verbs in *-are*: *dräe* (*Al.* 33), *stranno* (*J.*

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 203.

<sup>2</sup> Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 111.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 51; Gröber, *A. L. L.*, III, 140.

<sup>4</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 180.

<sup>6</sup> Zs., IX, 523.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 205.

<sup>7</sup> Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 115.

3), *stràe* 4, *strò* (*M.* 89), *frestì*, *frebbe*.—The syncope of pretonic *a* in the strong verbs in *-are* is also a strong Florentine characteristic: *strò Tancia*, 892, *frà* 895, *frò* 908, *fremmo* 916, *strem* 930, *drei* 958, *drà*, *strà*, *frestì*, *frebbe*; <sup>1</sup>—*Luc. drà*, *B. Luc.*, 59.

### Prosthesis.

1. Prosthetic *a* (+ *l*, *r*) is of frequent occurrence in modern Pistoiese; the *l* or *r* is doubled.

(*a*) + *l*: *allaccare* (*S.* 31), *alloscire*, *allonzare*, *allogagione* 32, *allastrico Uso* 41.

(*β*) + *r*: *arritornare* (*S.* 6), *arraccomandare*, *arricordare* 37, *arracontare*, *arriverciare*, *arrosolire*, *arrammentare* (*C.* 53), *arreplicò* (*N.* 6), *arripesco* ('*Stor.*,' 8), *arrimettilo* 6, *arriscontrare* 12, *arriposare*.<sup>2</sup>

2. Before other consonants than *l*, *r*: *abbenechè* (*C.* 11), *accapare* (*S.* 26), *accosì* (*N.* 6), *addimandare* (*Stor.*, 15), *appopolato* (*Gr. P.* 35), *assortire*, *assommare* (*S.* 41), *assapere* (*C.* 54), *asserbato* (*N.* 35).—Cf. *Sen. ar(r)acomandare*, *arracomidare*, *arrandellare*, *arrassomigliare*, *arréndare*, *ar(r)icordare*, *abbisognare*, *acconvenire*, *accosìe*, *allapidare*, *appoplare*, *as(s)apere*, *assortire*; <sup>3</sup>—also in *Aret.* and *Rom.*;—*Corton. arrimpire Racc.*, 265;—*Neapol. abbasta*, *abballo*, *accossì*, *arrendere*, *attassare*.<sup>4</sup>

### Metathesis.

*stranuzzire* (*V. and M.*, 179).

## 2. Post-tonic *a*.

### Variants.

(*a*) *a* remains.

1. Before *r*: *zuccaro*.

2. Morphological *are* *ogna*<sup>5</sup> (*Al.* 14) from neuter plural *omnia*, *dua* (*C.* 20) from neuter plural *dua*, *mana* (*N.* 332),

<sup>1</sup> *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 319.

<sup>4</sup> *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Trad. Pop.*, III, 373.

<sup>5</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 521–22.

formed by analogy with feminines of I declension, *fuora fōrās*, formed according to *contra* and other adverbs.<sup>1</sup>—Cf. Flor. *ugna*, *dua*, *fuora*, *mana*, *zuccaro*;—Sen. *zuccaro Race.*, 283;—Luc. and Pis. *dua*, *ugna*, *trea*, and the proparoxytones *zuccaro*, *cantaro*, *gambaro*, *Lazzaro*; <sup>2</sup>—N. Ital. *zucaro*.<sup>3</sup>

(b)  $a > e$ : *Cēsere* (*C.* 62) by assimilation or under the influence of *r*.—Cf. Sen. *sighero*, *C. Son.*, 31.

(c)  $a > i$ : *canipa* (*Gr. P.* 11) by dissimilation.

(d)  $a > o$ : *scandolo* (*Ap.* 11) influenced by the *l*.

### Epithesis.

*ina* (*Al.* 43) < *ine* < *in*, *ohimnea* (*S.* 7) where the *a* represents an off-glide.

### Apocope.

*un'* (*uncia*), *Gr. P.* 12.

## E

### § 3. TONIC E.

(a)  $e > e$ .

1. In open syllable: *tema* (*Gr. P.*, 49); the oxytones *me*, *te*, *re*, *tre* are learned; *neve*<sup>4</sup> (*Gr. P.* 41), *nei* 50, *deve* are due to dissimilation;—cf. *Rom.* *re*, *me*, *te*; <sup>5</sup>—*Piacen.* *re*, *tre*; <sup>6</sup>—*Mil.* *tre*.<sup>5</sup>

(b)  $e > eje$ : *meje*, *teje*, *treje* (*M.*), the *e* is lengthened so that an off-glide *e* is developed and then *j* is inserted to break hiatus.—Cf. South Italian *teje*, *seje*,<sup>7</sup> and especially Neapolitan.<sup>8</sup>

(c)  $e > ie$ .

1. In open syllable.

*a*. After a palatal in old Pistojesse: *incresciēvile* (*Al.* 23), *dolciez(z)a* 27, *agiēvile* 52, *diciēva* (*Ap.* 5), *riciēve* 11, *piangiēa* 23, *merciēde* 47, *dispiaciēvole* 73, *ciēna* 81, *faciēano* (*I. P.* 17).—

<sup>1</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 107.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 113, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 112.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Tuscan *neve* by the side of *neve*. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 115.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 114.

<sup>7</sup> Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 256.

<sup>6</sup> *Zs.*, XIV, 137.

<sup>8</sup> *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 308.

Cf. Flor. *dicievo* *Uso*, 92 ;—Luc. *facievo*<sup>1</sup> *Uso*, 92, n. 3 ;—Tuscan *diciea* *B. D'Ant.*,<sup>2</sup> 59, *piaciere*, *ricieve*, *ciera* 63, *giaciere* 65.

β. After *n*: *Valdinievole* (*I. P.* 25), *nieve*.—Cf. Luc. *Valdinievole*, *B. Luc.*, 5 ;—Pis. *nieve*,<sup>3</sup>—N. Ital. *nieve*.<sup>4</sup>

2. In closed syllable.

After a palatal: *Franciesco*, *Ciecco* (*Gr. P.* 21).

#### Variants.

(a) *e* remains.

1. In open syllable: *menima* (*Al.* 10) formed on *meno* ; *primavera*.

2. In closed syllable: *architetto* follows diminutives in *-etto*.<sup>5</sup>

(b) *e* (+ palatal) > *ei*: *reie* *rëgëm* (*Al.* 53).

(c) *e* > *i*.

1. In open syllable: *nimo* *nëmo* (*C.* 9), influenced by *niuno*. Meyer-Lübke<sup>6</sup> says *nimo* is formed upon *nissuno*, but are not *nimo* and *nissuno* (both popular forms) formed according to *niuno*?<sup>7</sup> *dipo* *dē* + *pöst* (*Al.* 21), *despiri* (*Cino*, 145).—Cf. Flor. *nimo*, *nissuno* ;—Luc. *nimmo* ;<sup>8</sup>—Pis. *nimo*, *dipo*.<sup>9</sup>

2. In closed syllable: *isse* *ïpsüm* (*Al.* 22), *cui'* *ëc[cüm]* + *ille* (*C.* 15).—Cf. Flor. *qui'* *C. Son.*, 9 ;—Sen. *gista* (= *questa*) *Assetta*, 263.

#### § 4. TONIC *e*.

(a) *e* remains.

1. In hiatus: *Deo* (*Cino*, 365), *meo* 428.—Cf. Flor. *deo* (only in rhyme) *Purg. XVI*, 108 ; *meo* *Petr.*, *Son.*, 26.

<sup>1</sup> Both elements of the diphthong *ië* are pronounced.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, XV, 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 111.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 115.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 62.

<sup>6</sup> *Gram. Rom.*, § 116.

<sup>7</sup> cf. *Ital. Gram.*, § 56, where Meyer-Lübke himself thinks *nimo* is formed according to *niuno*.

<sup>8</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 109.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

2. In open syllable: In the learned words *petro* (*Al.* 4), *convene* 13, *sede* (*Cino* 22), *tene* 356, *vene* (in rhyme) 357, *mele* (*S. Fr.* 23), *dreto d'ret[r]o* (*M.* 19), *alleva* (*N.* 56), *celo*, *ceco* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Cesare* 46, *gregge*, *regge*, *legge*.—Cf. *Flor. dreto Tancia*, 888, *Petro* 905, *petra* *Petr.*, *Son.*, 4, *ritene* 21, *ven* 140, *tene* 146, *dece* 200;—*Luc. vene B. Luc.*, 22, *tene* 23;—*Gen. ten, ven, dexe dëcëm, insemi*;<sup>1</sup>—*Alatri mele, pëde*;<sup>2</sup>—*Sicil. dëçi, meli* with final *i*, *petra*.<sup>3</sup>

3. In closed syllable.

*a.* Before nas. + cons.: In the learned words *scendere* (*Gr. P.* 49), *faccenda*, *grembo* grēmĭm; *tempio* is formed under the influence of *tempo*.

*β.* Before open cons.: *fancello* (*Al.* 42) is due to change of suffix,<sup>4</sup> *stella*, *ellera* hëdëräm, *ermo* ërëmüm.—Cf. *Logdu. stella, erta*;<sup>5</sup>—*Mil. stella*.<sup>6</sup>

(b) *e* (in closed syllable) > *e*.

1. Before *n'*: *vegno* (*Cino*, 139), *tegno*—the *n'* raises the *e* to *e*.

2. *cutrettola*<sup>7</sup> cauda + trëpĭdäm follows diminutives in *-etto*.

(c) *e* > *ië*.

1. Before hiatus *i*: *riei* (*Al.* 38), *Graciadiëi* (MS. 1364), *siei*, *es* (*M.* 70).

2. In open syllable.

*a.* After a palatal: *primogiënito* (*Ap.* 3), *ciëtere* 23, *giëneri* (*Gr. P.* 43).

*β.* After other consonants: *lievora* (*Al.* 7), *siëguito* 14, *siedere* < sëdëre < sëdëre (*M.* 22), *niëgo* (*C.* 32), *liepre* 39, *liëva* (*Gr. P.* 19), and even after cons. + *r*: *priëgo* (*S. Fr.* 8) by the side of *Flor. prego*<sup>8</sup> *Tancia*, 902; *brïëve*, *grïëve* (*Cino*, 308) is out of secondary *e*.—In early Tuscan the diphthong *ië*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 45.

<sup>4</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II.

<sup>5</sup> *A. G.*, XIII, 137. This *e* is not so open, however, as in Tuscan. *Ibid.*, 140, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 91.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, § 62.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, § 88.

and the simple  $\epsilon$  are found side by side. Dante uses  $i\epsilon$  in open syllable rarely: *triegua* *Inf.* VII, 88;—*Intell. niego*, *priego*, *lievo*;—*Bocc. priego*, *Dec.* I, 1; *B. D'Ant. priego*, *lieva*;<sup>1</sup>—*Sen. lieva* by the side of *leve*, *Pietro*, *Petro*, *Siena*, *Sena*;<sup>2</sup>—*Pad. priega*, *lieva*, *mierita*, *sieguita*;<sup>3</sup>—old Venet. *lievore*, *brieve*, *lieve*, *grieve*, *niega*, *siegua*, *prieghi*; <sup>4</sup> N. Ital. *priego*.<sup>5</sup>

3. In closed syllable. This phenomenon is quite common, particularly in old Pistoiese when the  $\epsilon$  is preceded by a palatal and followed by a nas. + cons. Both elements of the diphthong  $i\epsilon$  are pronounced.<sup>6</sup>

*a.* The old gerundives *nosciendo* (*Al.* 23), *faciendo* 27, *vegiendo* (*B.* 77), *diciendo* (*Ap.* 7), *affligiendosi* 49, *piangiendo* 77.

*β.* *Vinciendo* (*Al.* 27), *ciendo* (*B.* 81), *inciensio* (*Ap.* 33), *argiendio* 41, *piangiendi* 77, *giende* (*Gr. P.* 21).

*γ.*  $\epsilon$  followed by nas. + cons., but not preceded by a palatal: The gerundives *habiendo* (*J.* 15), *volliendo* (*Al.* 55), *poniendio* 56, *formiendio* (*I. P.* 247), *sappiendio* (*S. Fr.* 62), and the modern forms *tiengo* (*M.* 21), *viengo* (*C.* 18).

*δ.*  $\epsilon$  preceded by a palatal but not followed by nas. + cons.: *statieia* (*Al.* 4) probably out of *stäteria*,<sup>7</sup> *cierto* 27, *lucierna* (*Ap.* 79), *ricietto* (*M.* 153), *ucciello* *aucellūm* (*Gr. P.* 20).—Cf. *Flor. ciento Crest.*, 20, *deciembre* 28, *tiengo C. Son.*, 38, *vienga* 51;—*Sen. viengo C. Son.*, 7;—*Luc. sapiendo B. Luc.*, 3, *abbiendo* 55, *facciendosi* 64, *tiengo*, *viengo*; <sup>8</sup>—*Pis. tiengo*, *viengo*; <sup>9</sup>—*B. D'Ant. ciento Zs.*, XV, 56, *digiendo* 58, *cierto* 60, *argiendio* 61, *cierbia* 67;—*Neapol. priesto*, *tormiento*, *cappiello*, *castiello*, *viento*.<sup>10</sup>

#### Variants.

(a)  $\epsilon$  (+ *n* + cons.) > *a* in old Pistoiese: *sostenanze* (*Al.* 20), *sanza* *ăbsentă* (*B.* 82).—Cf. *Flor. sustanza*, *Par.* VII, 5,

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, XV, 63, 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 523.

<sup>3</sup> *Wendriner, Pad. Mund.*, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 248.

<sup>5</sup> *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 111.

<sup>6</sup> Also in Lucchese. Cf. *Uso*, 92, *n.* 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Parodi, Romania*, XVIII, 596.

<sup>8</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 164.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>10</sup> *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 5.



*sanza Intell.*, 155;—Aret. *sanza* (Billi);<sup>1</sup>—*sanza* is found in many old Tuscan texts;<sup>2</sup>—Fr. *sans*.

(b)  $\epsilon$  (+  $n'$ ) after a palatal  $> i\epsilon$ : *ingiegnio* ĩngĕñĩũm (*Gr. P.* 25); the  $n'$  raises the  $\epsilon$  to  $\epsilon$ .

(c)  $\epsilon$  (in open syllable)  $> i$ : *miggio* (S. 5) by assimilation, *undicima* (*Al.* 8) influenced by *undici*.

(d)  $\epsilon$  (in closed syllable)  $> u$ : *nuse* ĕxĩt (N. 89) formed by analogy with pretonic  $u$  in *uscire* = *uscio* + *ĕxĩre*.—Cf. *Pis. usce*.<sup>3</sup>

## § 5. ATONIC E.

### 1. Pretonic *e*.

(a) *e* remains.

1. In hiatus: *neuno* (*Al.* 3), *ciascheuno* 12 is the primitive and legitimate form out of *quĩsquẽ* + *ũnum*; <sup>4</sup> *neente* (*I. P.* 109).—Cf. Brunetto Latini, who has *neuno*, *neente*, while Dante has the forms in *i*; both, however, have the forms *leone*, *leale*, *beato*, *creare*; <sup>5</sup>—*Intell. neente* 130;—Luc. *neuno* ‘B. Luc.’ 4, *cescheuno* 93.

2. Latinisms are *incontenente* (*Al.* 21), *Melano* (*Rice.*, 22), *pregione* (*Cino*, 435), *asseguro* (*M.* 107), *seculo* (*Gr. P.* 41); original Latin pretonic *e* is also preserved in *averebbe* (*I. P.* 177), *affinechẽ* 256, *operire* (S. 6), *adoperare* (*C.* 47), *serebbe* (N. 28), *saperrà* 46, *lemosena* 200, *avvederai* 439, *poterebbe* 452.—Cf. Sen. *mesurare*, *pregione*, *seculo*, *fenestra*, *Renaldo*, *segno*; <sup>6</sup>—Luc. *serà* B. Luc., 28, *poteranno* 79, *menuto* 81, *seguro*, *pregione*; <sup>7</sup>—Pis. *averà* C. Son., 22, *seculo*, *mesura*, *Melano*, *pregione*; <sup>8</sup>—B. D’Ant. *averebbe*, *saperebbe*, *poterebbe*; <sup>9</sup>—Aret. *seculo* Guit., 6, *pregione* 14;—Petr. *secura* 7;—modern poetry prefers *nepote*, *seculo*, etc.; <sup>10</sup>—*Logdu. misura*; <sup>11</sup>—Pad.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Caix, *Dial. d’Ital.*, 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 524.

<sup>3</sup> A. G., XII, 142.

<sup>4</sup> Caix, *Studi*, § 20.

<sup>5</sup> Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 532-3.

<sup>7</sup> A. G., XII, 113.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>9</sup> *Zs.*, XV, 72-3.

<sup>10</sup> Caix, *Origini*, 61.

<sup>11</sup> A. G., XIII, 106.

*segure, misura, preson* ; <sup>1</sup>—Gen. *preson, misura, seguro, signor, bisogno*, and in the proclitics and enclitics *me, te, se*.<sup>2</sup>

3. The prefix *de-* is sometimes preserved: *denanzi* (*Al.* 9), *dechiarendo* (*MS.* 1444), *defetto* (*N.* 276), *defende* (*Gr. P.* 36), *deliberare, desiderare, devenire*.—Cf. *Flor. dipende Par. XXVIII*, 42, *desiderio Par. XXXIII*, 48, by the side of *disiderio Purg. XV*, 33 ;—Sen. *denanzi, defetto, dechiarare, deliberare, devenire* ;<sup>3</sup>—Luc. and Pis. *defetto*.<sup>4</sup>

(b)  $e > a$ . This development of pretonic  $e > a$  is a prominent characteristic of both old and modern Pistojesse ; the change may take place before any consonant or group of consonants. Assimilation and dissimilation play an important part in this development.

1. By assimilation: *aguale*<sup>5</sup> (*Al.* 13), *asaminare* 43, *contastare* 59, *damando* (*I. P.* 230), *sanato* 468, *raguardate* (*S. Fr.* 12), *maladire, maladeggio* (*S.* 98), *metafera mēṭāphōrām* (*Gr. P.* 13), *maladizione* 15, *pallareccio pālěā + ēričūm* 16, *sgangarato cāncēr + ātūm*<sup>6</sup> (*M.* 107) ; *antrata* (*Al.* 23) and *giandarmi* (*Son. Pop.*, 49) are influenced by the nasal (+ cons.).<sup>7</sup>

2. By dissimilation: *asempi ēxēmplūm* (*Al.* 9), *amendare, aleg(g)ersi*<sup>5</sup> *ēlīgēre* 13, *piatosa* (*Cino*, 308), *aterno* (*M.* 10, n.), *asserito* (*S.* 13), *abbreo*<sup>5</sup> (*C.* 45).

3. Before *r*: *quarelle* (*M.* 35), *arredi hērēdēm* 48 ; *marcoledie* (*S.* 7) and possibly (?) *vennardī* 187 are influenced by *martedì* ; *sargente sērviētēm* (*Gr. P.* 11) influenced by O. H. G. *scarjo*<sup>8</sup> and Span. *sargento* ; *iarsera* (*Uso*, 470).

4. Special cases: *afecto* (*Al.* 5) = *effetto* is confounded with *affetto* ; *dapoi* (*M.* 1534), *sagreto* = *sēcrētūm + sācrātūm* (*M.* 10, n.), *aducazione* (*C.* 44), *oppuramente* (*N.* 2) is formed by analogy with *solamente* and other adverbs ; the pretonic *a* in *tutt' addua* (*N.* 218) comes from the neuter plural.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. camaratum, Marcator, marcado, pargamina, Armogenes*,

<sup>1</sup> Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Flechia, *A. G.*, X, 147.

<sup>3</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 532.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 113, 144.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 137.

<sup>6</sup> Canello, *A. G.*, III, 360.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 368.

<sup>8</sup> Diez, *Wörterbuch*, p. 292.

*Calandina*, *iantare*, *aclesia*, *Amatista*, *Matauro*; <sup>1</sup>—many other dialects change pretonic *e* to *a* particularly before *r*: Flor. *aterno* *Lam. di Cec.*, 3, *accellenza* 33, *assendo*, *sagreto Tancia*, 905, *iarsera* 919, *aducazione C. Son.*, 47, *sarvare* 86, *sarvietta* 96; —Sen. *iarsera*, *venardì*, *Arcolano*, *arrare* (errare), *caldarone*, *comparare*, *delibarare*, *parsona*, *povaretto*, *serafino*, *vitoparoso*, *Aduardo*, *agualmente*, *carastia*, *piatoso*, *sanatore*; <sup>2</sup>—Luc. *vennardie*, *quarella*, *gliarsera*, <sup>3</sup> *cambariera*; <sup>4</sup>—Pis. *venardie*, *Valariano*, *piatà*, *ialsera* = *iersera*, <sup>5</sup> *aduazione C. Son.*, 47; —Corton. *jarsera Racc.*, 258, *sapparà* 259; —Emil. *sarpent*, *narburù*, <sup>6</sup> *arsira*; <sup>7</sup>—Pad. *alletto*, *piatoso*, *spiandore*, *arore*, *arsera*; <sup>8</sup>—Gen. *asempio*, *aspose*, *aspeitar*, *axalta*, *axamiano*, *arror*, *marcante*, *sarafim*, *sarmon*; <sup>9</sup>—Mil. *quarèlla*, *marmoria*, *venardi*, *parchè*; <sup>10</sup>—N. Ital. *damanda*, *piatosa*, *splandore*, *aspetto*, *adeificare*, *imparadore*; <sup>11</sup>—Campobasso, *maremma*, *cumarella* (cu)cumerella.<sup>12</sup>

(c) *e* (+ palatal) > *ei* in hiatus in old Pistoiese: *neiente* nec + *ëntēm* (*Al.* 9), *leiali lëgālem* (*J.* 2).

(d) *e* > *i*.

1. In hiatus.

a. *e* + *a* > *i* + *a*: *criatura* (*Al.* 63), *biato*, *Biatrice* (*B.* 79), *crianzia* (*M.* 83), *riavisassi rē* + *ādvīsāre* (*C.* 93).

β. *e* + *a* > *i* + *e*: *Bietrice* (*B.* 77).

γ. *e* + *i* > *i* + *e*: *dientro dē* + *Intro* (*Gr. P.* 22).

δ. *e* + *u* > *i* + *o*: *riobarbero rēūbārbārūm* (*Gr. P.* 14).

2. By assimilation.

a. *siguitamente* (*Al.* 28), *pigiore* 47, *milliore* 49, *cilimonière* (*M.* 75), *zinia γεvedá* (*S.* 10), *pricissione prōcēssīōnēm* (*C.* 12), *carizia cārēstīām* 61, *discrizione discrētīōnēm* (*N.* 410), *spirimenti* (*Gr. P.* 13), *pittiroso pēctūs* + *rüssūm* 15, *appipito*;

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 208–15.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 529–30.

<sup>3</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 113.

<sup>4</sup> *Raccolta*, 347.

<sup>5</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 144.

<sup>6</sup> *Mussafia*, *Romg.*, 82.

<sup>7</sup> *Flechcia*, *A. G.*, II, 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Wendrin*, *Pad. Mund.*, 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Flechcia*, *A. G.*, X, 146–7.

<sup>10</sup> *Salvioni*, *Dial. Mod.*, 105.

<sup>11</sup> *Mussafia*, *Beiträge*, 112, 115.

<sup>12</sup> *D'Ovidio*, *A. G.*, IV, 156.

the prefix *de-* > *di-*: *discrivere* (Al. 16), *diliberato* (I. P. 98), *dilicato* (Ricc., 63), *disidero* (S. Fr. 23), *dilicatezze* 52; the prefix *re-* > *ri-*: *riplicare* (N. 32), *ribillione* 152.

3. By dissimilation: *nicessità* (S. Fr. 21); the prefix *de-* > *di-*: *dicretali* (Al. 16), *dinnegare* 6; the prefix *re-* > *ri-*: *riverenza* (M. 79).

4. *ex* < *is*: *isaminare* (Al. 43), *ismisurata* (Ricc., 23), *isbandire* (S. 8), *isventolare* 92, *istravolto* *ěxtrā + vōlūtūm* (N. 2), *iscoprendo* 8, *ispaventosa* 10, *ismovere* 115; also *es* > *is*: *istate* *aestātēm* (Gr. P. 11), *istivali* *aestivālēm* (Due Lett., 13).

5. The atonic pronouns *me, te se* > *mi, ti, si* before *lo, la, ne*:<sup>1</sup> *si ne* (Al. 21), *mi ne* 59, *mi lo* (M. 14), *mi la* 25, *mi l'* 23, *mi ne* 15, *mi n'* 17, *ti lo* 21, *ti le* 93, *si la* 95, *mi la, ti lo, si lo* (Uso, 678).

6. Special cases: *isopo* (Al. 10) and *convisatione* 38, where the *i* is under the influence of the *s*; *iguale* *aequālēm* (Al. 60), *sicundo* (Ricc., 103, *dipoi* (Cino, 13), *biltate* 62, and *vintura* 424 are formed according to the regular Italian rule for the development of pretonic *e*; *ubbidienza* (V. and M. 144) is formed according to *ubbidire*, and *nissuno* (N.-N. 8) according to *niuno*.<sup>2</sup>—Cf. Pop. Lat. *Biates, diliberat, dilicatus, describere, disiderio, sicunda*, etc.;<sup>3</sup>—Flor. *biato* Lam. di Cec., 4, *sipoltura* 29, *binigno Tuncia*, 884, *appipito* 896, *cilimonie* 899, *nicistà* 921, *pricission* 925, *mimoria* 926, *dilibrati, nissun(o)* 945; *piggiore* Dec., I, 1, *migliore* I, 2; *mi n'andai Tes.*, 22; *mine passo Intell.*, 3;—Sen. *criatura, biato, Lionardo, riale, appipito, cimento, cirimonia, dinajo, disiderio, lunidì, mimoro, nicisità, pricissione, sicondo, sipoltura, spiciale, isbandire, iscoprire, iscusare, iscumunicare, ismontare, ispedire, istate, istimare*;<sup>4</sup>—Luc. *ghirone, ciaschiduno, vissica, iscire*;<sup>5</sup>—Pis. *issuto, vissica, sigondo, istate, finire, iscire*,<sup>6</sup> *precissione* C. Son., 36, *nissuno* 48;—Aret. *apitilo, sirvito, sintire*,<sup>7</sup> Corton. *priciso*

<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon is limited almost entirely to San Marcello.

<sup>2</sup> cf. § 3. (d) 1.

<sup>3</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 298–302, 382, 426.

<sup>4</sup> Zs., IX, 531, 533.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>5</sup> A. G., XII, 114.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 35.

*Racc.*, 258, *sirà* 259, *nicisserio* 260, *sirvitù* 261, *binissimo* 262, *virità* 266;—*Gen. dinai* = *denari*, *firir*, *neccissitae*, *nigun* nec uno.<sup>1</sup>

(e) *e* > *ie* is a prominent characteristic of old Pistoiese.

1. After a palatal cons.: *conciéduto* (*Al.* 20), *cielato* 37, *sacierdotale* (*Ap.* 5), *vincierà* 9, *comincierà* 17, *reggierà* 33, *vangielizzò* 43, *giacieranno* 45, *magiestà* 65, *piangieranno* 75, *disciendea* 85, *dacciello* 89, *velociemente* 95, *gienerazione* 97, *giendarmi* (*S. Fr.* 12); also in modern Pistoiese: *chiacchierone* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Gienerale*, *cieseraria* 21, *gieografia* 22, *sviscierato* 23.

2. *mielate* (*C.* 18), *sientiede* 43, *tenere* 106, and *vienere* 110 are formed by analogy with the stem-accented forms.—Cf. *Flor. vienuco C. Son.*, 27, *bieltate Intell.*, 132; *Prat. gieloso Crest.*, 95;—*Pis. vienuto C. Son.*, 19;—*Aret. gentile Guittone* 170, *ricievendo* 179;—*B. D'Ant. ciercando Zs.*, XV, 58, *ingieneroe*, *uccielletti* 61, *dolciemente* 62.

(f) *e* > *o*.

1. *e* (+ labial): *proveduto* (*Al.* 47), *adovenire* 54, *doventare* 54, n., *soppellire* sèpèllire (*I. P.* 461), *romanere* 476, n., *dopoì* (*MS.* 1444), *propotenzia* (*S.* 199).

2. Confounding of prefixes: *soddusse* sùbdūcēre instead of sēdūcēre<sup>2</sup> (*I. P.* 476, n.), *protenzione*, *procetti* (*Gr. P.* 12), *projudicare*, *prosunzione*; perhaps also *soppellire*, *proveduto* and *propotenzia* of the preceding paragraph.

3. *oscire* òstŭm + èxīre (*Al.* 65) is learned.—Cf. *Flor. soppellito Lam. di Cec.*, 35, *protenzione V. and M.*, 144, *sodusse Tes.*, 5;—*Sen. dovenire*, *doventare*, *dovoto*, *procendi*, *proferire*, *profetto* pèrfèctŭm; <sup>3</sup>—*Luc. soppellire*, *romase*, *dopende*, *ciometerio*.<sup>4</sup>

#### Apheresis.

'*saminamento* (*Al.* 48), '*scrudere* èxlūdēre (*S.* 7), *Manuelle* 100, *strazione* 142, *quilibrio* 121, *resia* 123, '*state aestātēm* (*C.*

<sup>1</sup> *A. G.*, X, 147.

<sup>3</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 534.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 137.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 114.

103), *lemosina* (N. 200), *reda*, *sperto*.—Cf. Flor. 'siliato C. Son., 41, 'limosiniere 85 ;—Sen. *mendare*, *difizio*, *senpro* (exemplum) *spresso*,<sup>1</sup> 'resia C. Son., 44, 'Manuelle 77 ;—Luc. *spettare*, *state*, *scire* *exire* ;<sup>2</sup>—Pis. *stinguere*, *rede*, *spettare*, *scire* *exire*,<sup>3</sup> 'Uropa C. Son., 21.

### Syncope.

1. Between mute and liquid : *pricolo*, *considrate* (M. 52), *sprimmentare* (Uso, 935), *sparare*.

2. Between *s* + *r* in the Fut. and Cond. of the verb *essere* : *srò*, *srà*, *srei*, *sresti*, *srebbe*, etc.

3. *istū*<sup>4</sup> = *se tu* (Al. 7).—Cf. Flor. *pricolosa* Tancia, 877, *sre'* 881, *delibrato* 908, *stu* 930 ;—Sen. *mercordì* C. Son., 91.

### Epenthesis.

Between mute and liquid : *pigherizia*, *mìtera* *mītrām* (Gr. P. 22).

### Metathesis.

*presempio* (M. 57), *suprestizione* (V. and M. 81).—Cf. Sen. *presempio* C. Son., 5 ;—Luc. *presempio* Uso, 751.

### Post-tonic *e*.

(a) *e* remains in old Pistojesse.

1. In paroxytones : *diece* (J. 2), *lunge* (Cino, 67), *domane* (S. Fr. 28).

2. In proparoxytones : *gioven* (Cino, 83).—Cf. Sen. *giovenò* ;<sup>5</sup>—Luc. *domane* B. Luc., 72.

(b) *e* > *ie* after a palatal cons. This development is a strong characteristic of old Pistojesse and is also found in the modern language. Both elements of the diphthong are pronounced.<sup>6</sup>

1. In paroxytones : *lucie* (Al. 5), *pacie* 6, *dolcie* 7, *vocie* 13, *nuocie* 20, *dispiacie* 25, *radicie* 34, *leggie* *lēgēm* 46, *crocie* (B. 78), *fornacie* (Ap. 5), *falcie* 61, *meritricie* 69, *lungie* 75, *invecie*

<sup>1</sup> Zs., IX, 534.

<sup>4</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 528.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>5</sup> Zs., IX, 541.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>6</sup> Also in the Lucchese. Cf. § 4. (d) 3. a, n.

(*Gr. P.* 15), *felicie* 67.—Cf. *Flor. diecie Crest.* 24, *pacie* 26; *B. d'Ant. dolcie Zs.*, XV, 51, *piacie* 62, *leggie* 63, *bocie* 70.

2. In proparoxytones: *cresciere* (*Al.* 35), *sempricie* 40, *calicie* 53, *angielo* (*Ap.* 7), *soduciere* sŭbdŭcere 11, *leggiere* (*Gr. P.* 20).

(c)  $e > o$  in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones.

*a.* Primary  $e$ : *puro* (*Al.* 67).

*β.* Secondary  $e$ : *tuo* < *tue* < *tu* (*non sai*) *Al.* 4, *piuo* < *piue* < *più* (*tosto*) 8, and *rendè* < *rendèe* < *rendè* (*lode*) are due to assimilation; <sup>1</sup>—*aveto* (*decto*) *Al.* 68.—Cf. *Sen. rendéo, cadéo, potéo, sedéo, vendéo.*<sup>2</sup>

2. In proparoxytones in modern Pistoiese: *lèllora* hĕdĕrĕm (*Gr. P.* 13).

#### Variants.

(a)  $e > a$  in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones: *adonqua* (*Al.* 51); *ina* < *ine* < *in* 43 where the  $a$  is out of secondary  $e$ .

2. In proparoxytones: *senacha* (*Al.* 7) by assimilation.—Cf. *Flor. dunqua Intell.*, 162;—*Luc. qualunqua B. Luc.*, 1, *quantunqua* 2, *chiunqua* 18;—*Pad. ancha, doncha*; <sup>3</sup>—old *Ven. adonca.*<sup>4</sup>

(b)  $e > i$  in proparoxytones.

1. In hiatus: *linia* (*Gr. P.* 21) by assimilation.

2. After a vowel: *preiti* (*Al.* 12) prĕsbŷtĕrŭm > *prevete* > *preete* > *preiti* by dissimilation.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. linia, tinia, vinia*; <sup>5</sup>—*Neapol. prevete.*<sup>6</sup>

(c)  $e > u$ : *súguro* sŭbĕr + (*M.* 34) by assimilation.

#### Syncope.

*povra Cino*, 67 (in rhyme).—Cf. *Flor. povra Fiera*, 77 (not in rhyme);—*Sen. poro C. Son.*, 42.

<sup>1</sup> cf. my article on *tu > tue > tuo*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, cols. 97–99.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 427.

<sup>5</sup> *Schuch.*, *Vokalismus*, I, 437, 441–42.

<sup>3</sup> *Wendrin.*, *Pad. Mund.*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 356.

## Epenthesis.

Between mute + liquid: *maghero* (S. 7), *aghero* (C. 49), *pighero*.—*maghero* and *pighero* are found in other dialects.<sup>1</sup>

## Epithesis.

*e* used as an off-glide with oxytones is a strong Pistojesse characteristic; in fact the rule is almost constantly observed by the *contadini*.

1. *a* + *e*: *arae* (Al. 8), *faræ* 10, *stræ* 14, *tacerae* 15, *drae* 16, *potrae* 19, *giae* 31, *sia* 42, *viverræ* 53, *atrae* 57, *vendicarrae* 58, *aguae* 71, *stræ* (J. 4), *parrae* 7, *sae* (M. 3), *anderae* (S. 34), *sarae* (C. 12), *hae* 27, *væ* 50, *lae* 78.

2. *e* + *e*: *ée* (Stor., 8), *mée* (S. 71), *potée*.

3. *i* + *e*: *lallie* (M. 8), *dîe*, *lunedîe*, *lacquie* 51, *sîe*, *cûie* (C. 9), *accosîe* 10, *costîe*, *seppellîe* 20, *lîe* 21, *chîe* 39, *martedîe*, *marcoledîe* 81.

4. *o* + *e*: *altroe* (Al. 11), *lagrimoe* 20, *levoe*, *apeloe* 21, *cioe* 24, *peroe* 68, *amoe* (S. Fr. 21), *ririvoe* (M. 10), *androe* (S. 34), *soe*, *fermoe*, *imperoe* (C. 8), *arrioe*, *doe*, *addenteroe* 9, *scontroe*, *saroe* 10, *voe*, *covoe* 11, *andoe*, *foe*, *cavoe*, *noe* 18, *principioe* 19, *scramoe* 21, *lassoe* 24, *tiroe* 25, *dîroe* 27, *seccoe* 29, *montoe* 32, *garboe* 36, *comandoe* 37, *staroe* 42, *nentroe* 43, *menoe* 44, *tornoe* (N.-N. 521).

5. *u* + *e*: *tue* (Al. 4), *sue* sūsŭm (C. 10), *giue* 14, *lassue* = *la* + *su* 19, *fue* 26, *piùe* 89.

6. *pere* (Cino, 51).—Cf. Flor. *lae*, *ée*, *piùe*, Lam. di Cec., 4, *tue* Tancia, 911, *giue* C. Son., 7, *noe* 19, *cosie* 46, *Gesue* 50, *quae*, *lae* 55, *quie* 77, *fue* Crest., 24, *de* Intell., 138; Dante uses the epithetical *e* generally for the sake of the rhyme: *ee*, Inf. XXIV, 90, *sie*, Purg. XXVIII, 8, *sue*, Purg. XVI, 30;<sup>2</sup>—Sen. *colae*, *mee*, *cosîe*, *perde*, *giùe*, *cide*, *giàe*, *piùe*, *sue*, *chîe*, *tue*, *quie*, *lîe*, *cittàe*, *veritàe*, *necesitàe*, *volontàe*;<sup>3</sup> also numer-

<sup>1</sup> Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Zs., IX, 536.



ous verbs: *amðe*, *andðe*, *cercðe*, *fermðe*, *levðe*, etc.,<sup>1</sup> *anderðe*, *durðe*, *faræ*, *potrae*, *doe*, *dae*, *foe*, *fae*, *soe*, *stoe*, *voe*, *væ*, etc.;<sup>1</sup>—Luc. *ae B. Luc.*, 1, *quie* 2, *seguitràe* 15, *faræ* 27, *fue* 47, *porterðe*, *vorràe* 55, *giue* 72, *noe*, *fae* 79, *stae* 87, *piue* 91, *serae* 92, *dirroe Race.*, 253.

## I.

## § 6. TONIC I.

(a) *i* in Pistoiese shows very few variations from the literary Italian.

(b) *i* remains: *si sī* (*S. Fr.* 8), *ditto dictūm*<sup>2</sup> (*C.* 19).

(c) *i* > *e*: *trēsti* (*M.* 95), *donzēna*<sup>3</sup> *dōdīcīnā* by change of suffix.

(d) *i* > *iē*: *serviēvi* (*N.-N.* 4).

(e) *i* > *u*: *fubbie* or *fiubbe* (*M.* 24 and note), the vowel is assimilated to the labial consonant.—Cf. Ven. *fiuba*, Lomb. *fūbia*, O. Fr. *afubler*.<sup>4</sup>

## § 7. ATONIC I.

1. Pretonic *i*.

(a) *i* remains: *agevilez(z)a* (*Al.* 52), *licito* (*J.* 19), *naviletta* (*S. Fr.* 8), *signato* (*MS.* 1444), *incora hinc + òrām* (*Due Lett.*, 13); the *i* remains in the atonic pronouns *ci*, *vi* before *lo*, *la*, *ne*: *ci lo* (*M.* 40), *ci la* 75, *ci n' 5*, *vi lo* 20, *vi la* 97, *vi ne* 101.

(b) *i* > *e*.

There are many examples of this phenomenon in both old and modern Pistoiese. Meyer-Lübke<sup>5</sup> says that the forms with pretonic *e* are under Umbrian-Aretino or Provençal influence.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 427-8.

<sup>2</sup> I give *dictūm* according to Ascoli, *A. G.*, I, 23, and note 3; Körting, *Lat. Rom. Wb.*, 2558; Pieri, *A. G.*, XII, 109, gives *ditto* as formed upon *dissi*.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Italian *dozzēna*, Canello, *A. G.*, VII, 319.

<sup>4</sup> Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 205.

<sup>5</sup> *Ital. Gram.*, § 123.

1. By assimilation: *relegione* (Al. 6), *lecenza* 56.
2. By dissimilation: *inemica* (Al. 35), *rilegioso* 67, *openione* 71, *ipocresia* (Ricc., 51), *omessione* (I. P. 86), *temitoso* (M. 88), *prencipi* 90, *letigio* (C. 21), *redicolo* (Gr. P. 23).
3. Special cases: *vertudie* (Al. 4), *vectoria* 51, *vetuperio* 77, *vertù* (Cino, 25), *vertudioso* (M. 78), *metragghie* (S. 112), *per-ruchieri* *pīlūcārūm* (N. 230), *gennastia* (Gr. P. 45), *mesurare*; *in* = *en* (*em*): *entroni* *in* + *törnūm* (M. 23), *nempare* *īmpārāt* (Gr. P. 20).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *prencepe*, *prencipe*; <sup>1</sup>—Flor. *vertù*, *Intell.*, 134, *promession* *Decam.*, I, 1, *sempatia*, *C. Son.*, 35, *vecino*;—Sen. *fenire*, *rileggioso*, *trebuna*, *vettoria*, *enfermo*, *em-parare*, and many others; <sup>2</sup>—Luc. *prencipio*, *fenire*, *perrucca*, <sup>3</sup>*mesurai* *Racc.*, 252;—Pis. *menuto*, *besogna*, *vertude*; <sup>4</sup>—Corton. *ordeneto* *Racc.*, 259.

(c) *i* > *o*.

1. Before labial cons.: *obbriaco*, *ombuto* (N.-N. 16), *om-possibile*, *onfiare* (?) *C.* 85, *onferno* (?).
2. Before *l*: <sup>5</sup>*baggiolare* *vacillare* or *vagillare* <sup>6</sup>(*S.* 232), *ventolazione* 8.
3. Special cases: *Modonesi* (I. P. 301), formed on *Modona*; *oncenso* (*J.* 28) the pretonic *o* of which probably comes from the article *lo* ? <sup>3</sup>—Cf. Flor. *doviso* *Tancia*, 877, *noboltà* 932;—Sen. *ombusto*, *ombuto*, *omperadore*, *omperio*, *oncenso*, *onferno*, *onterdetto*; <sup>7</sup>—Luc. *fonire*, *ombuto*, *onferno*, <sup>3</sup>*ompiccio* *Racc.*, 245, *ompossibile* 250;—Tuscan *ombuto*, *romasuglio*. <sup>8</sup>

### Variants.

(a) *i* > *a*: *arbatrato* (*Son. Pop.*, 43) and *sarvatico* are due to assimilation; *giangia* *gīngivām* (*S.* 7) under influence of the nasal consonant *n*.—Cf. Flor. *Modanesi*, *Sec. Rap.*, 4;—Corton. *antendere* *Racc.*, 259;—old Tuscan *salvagio*. <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 28, 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 539–40.

<sup>3</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>5</sup> Canello, *A. G.*, III, 335.

<sup>6</sup> Caix, *Studi*, § 179.

<sup>7</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 540.

<sup>8</sup> Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 123.

<sup>9</sup> Caix, *Origini*, 75.

(b) *i > u*: *unutile* (*Gr. P.* 49) by assimilation; *buzzeffe* bis + ff (*S.* 235) influenced by the preceding labial consonant *b* and perhaps by the *u* in *due*; *vestuario*.—Cf. *Flor. vestuario*;<sup>1</sup>—*Sen. purate, subillo, utilità*;<sup>2</sup>—*Luc. inutile Racc.*, 253;—*Pis. funire*,<sup>3</sup> *sumiglia C. Son.*, 63;—*Aret. buzzeffe*.<sup>4</sup>

### Apheresis.

(a) Before nasal + consonant.

1. After article or pronoun: *lo 'ntendimento* (*Al.* 5), *chi 'ngura*, *le 'ngure*, *la 'ngiuria* 8, *gli 'nvidiosi* 9, *lo 'nsegno*, *lo 'ngegno* 16, *lo 'ncominciamento* 18, *lo 'nduscio* 22, *la 'neattiviscie* 30, *lo 'nferno* 35, *lo 'mperio* 41, *lo 'nprincipio*, *li 'ncominciamenti* 43, *che 'ntendea* 60, *lo 'mperadore* 73, *all' 'ncanto* (*M.* 30), *lo 'nsaccava* 54, *se 'ntoppano* 63, *lo 'nteresse* 69, *lo 'nterpidi* 71, *lo 'mparò*, *della 'ndivia*, *vine 'ntendete* 101, *la 'ndulgenza* 106, *la 'mpamata* (*S.* 119), *la 'nserenata*, *la 'nvezzata* 152, *la 'nnarzata* 210, *la 'mpromessa* 274, *'ghi 'ntraviense* (*C.* 8), *tene 'nteso* 9, *dallo 'ngrasso* 11, *lo 'mprumettiedi* 12, *loro 'nzino* 13, *uno 'n* 15, *lo 'nsacca* 17, *lo 'nvito*, *tene 'nfrattanto* 18, *lui 'mperoe*, *allo 'mprovviso* 19, *dello 'ngordo* 23, *'ghi 'ngolaa* 28, *io 'n*, *ti 'ncapocchire* 29.

2. After the words *e* and *a*: *e 'nduscie* (*Al.* 36), *e 'nffine* 76, *a 'ndevinar* (*M.* 8), *a 'nnamorati* 14, *a 'ngorgar* 58, *a 'ntraversar* 74, *a 'nfustirsi* 76, *a 'ntormentire* (*S.* 28), *a 'ngrassa* (*C.* 10), *a 'ngoazzà* 14, *a 'ntende* 18.

3. After auxiliary verbs: *era 'ncoccio* (*M.* 30), *ava 'nzurlito* 46, *ha 'nsegni* (*S.* 3), *fussi 'nnamorata* 32, *sie 'ngiallito* 87, *fussi 'nchiostro* 151, *ha 'mpegnato* 266.

4. Special cases: *dei 'mframeclere* (*Al.* 3), *da 'mparare* 30, *ogna 'nduscio* 36, *soperbia 'ngenera* 50, *sappia 'nsinor* (*M.* 15), *naso 'nnun* 30, *coresto 'mbattina* 109, *pere 'mparare* (*S.* 27), *ritta 'ntostita* (*C.* 11), *accosìe 'nsino* 15, *foco 'ntra* 18.

(b) Before cons. + vow.: *magine* (*J.* 28), *talia* (*Ricc.*, 24).—Cf. *Flor. e 'ntenda*, *Tancia*, 877, *ho 'nteso* 899, *lo 'ntoppo* 906,

<sup>1</sup> *Uso*, 1023.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 540.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Uso*, 192.

*la 'nvilia* 914, *chi 'mparò* 922, *lo 'nchino* 933, *lo 'nferno Intell.*, 167, *ànno 'nteso* 170, *è 'ntra* 148, *la 'nsegna* 168, *lo 'mbusto* 177, *Talia* 183, *la 'ntenzione Decam.*, I, 2, *lo 'ngegno*, I, 3, *lo 'nquisitore*, I, 6, *tutto 'ntero C. Son.*, 18, *lo 'nsegnaan* 28, *'taliano* 41, *la struzione* 42 ;—*Sen. lo 'ngegno*, *lo 'ntelletto*, *la 'nvidia*, *ho 'nteso*, *a 'nganni*, *ne 'ncresce*, *senza 'npaccio* ;<sup>1</sup>—*Luc. uno 'nferno*, *la 'mpostura*,<sup>2</sup> *lo 'ncontri Cant. Pop.*, 18 ;—*Pis. una 'nfamità*, *questo 'ncanto*, *Talia*,<sup>3</sup> *lo 'mpossibile*, *C. Son.*, 26, *tutto 'ntero* 35, *è 'nutile* 46, *uno 'gnorante* 47, *ho 'nteso* 88 ;—*Tuscan lo 'nperadore B. d'Ant.*, *Zs.*, XV, 56, *lo 'nbusto* 65, *ello 'ndugiare* 66 ;—*Neapol. mporta*, *npace*,<sup>4</sup> *nfaccia*, *ncapo*, *ngiuria*.<sup>5</sup>

### Prosthesis.

The popular Latin prosthetic *i* before *s* impurum appears in Pistojesè even when the preceding word ends in a vowel :<sup>6</sup> (*unde*) *iscrito* (*Al.* 34), (*divina*) *iscriptura* 35, (*e*) *isforzansi*, (*tuo*) *istato* 37, (*ogna*) *ispirito*, (*ria*) *isperanza* 38, (*sono*) *ischer-niti* 40, (*piùo*) *istrania* 41, (*sothi*) *istipulament'* 46, (*soperbia*) *iscenderà* 50, (*consilio*) *ispecialmente* 51, (*quali*) *istuo* 52, (*è*) *istabile*, (*fae*) *istolto* 58, (*potrasse*) *iscelere* 61, (*unde*) *isdegna* 62, (*nosso*) *iscudo* 66, (*motto*) *istudiare* 30, (*nello*) *istangnio* (*Ap.* 89), (*sua*) *iscenza* (*Al.* 68), (*vollio*) *ispoglare*, (*cose*) *iscure* 71, (*è*) *ispezia* 74, (*serà*) *iscandalizato* 76, *tanto ispretato* (*N.* 44), (*correva*) *istupita* 84, (*loro*) *istevano* 414, (*strippata*) *istasera* (*C.* 16).—*Cf. Pop. Lat. iscripta, ispirito, ispecies, istare, istabile, etc.*<sup>7</sup>

### Syncope.

In the loan<sup>8</sup> word *testimonanza* (*Al.* 71).

### Epenthesis.

*aguaito* < Ger. *wahtën* (*Al.* 40), *abibisognio* (*Ap.* 17) by reduplication ; *fiorte* 75, *nessiuna* (*S. Fr.* 21), *sciabbiosa* (*N.*

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 541.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>4</sup> *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 7.

<sup>6</sup> cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 144.

<sup>7</sup> *Schuch.*, *Vokalismus*, II, 338, 342, 346.

<sup>8</sup> cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.

154), *distribuzione* (*Gr. P.* 13), influenced by *distribuire*; diotto 24, *inghilese* 22 influenced by *Inghilterra*.—Cf. Provençal *aguitar*.

### Metathesis.

*furigelli* filucellum (*M.* 47), where the *u* is attracted to the initial syllable by the labial consonant *f*.

### 2. Post-tonic *i*.

(a) *i* remains in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones: *forsi*, where the *i* remains on account of its proclitic position.

2. In proparoxytones.

*a.* Learned words ending in -bŷllŷs: <sup>1</sup> *nuvili*, *odievile*, *rascionevile* (*Al.* 9), *chonvenevile* 14, *increscievile* 23, *abondevile* 32, *piacevili* 38, *inghannevili*, *usinghevili* 40, *agievile* 52, *innomerevili* 53, *onorevile* 70, *bisognevili* (*J.* 7), *fievile*, *debile* (*M.* 8, n.).

*β.* Special cases: *sindico* (*I. P.* 299), *solidi* (*MS.* 1444).—Cf. Sen. *onorevile*, *ragionevile*; <sup>2</sup>—Luc. *personevile*, *bisognevile*, *onorevile*; <sup>3</sup>—Pis. *convenevile*, *ragionevile*, *onorevile*.<sup>4</sup>

(b) *i* > *e* in proparoxytones: *nuveli* (*Al.* 50), *honorevele* (*Ricc.*, 54), *nobelevile*, *simelevile*, *utelevile*.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *nobelis*, *sterelis*, *nomene*, *ordene*; <sup>5</sup>—Sen. *onorevele*, *mobelevile*, *simelevile*, *utelevile*, *ordene*; <sup>2</sup>—Pis. *simelevile*, *omeni*; <sup>6</sup>—Corton. *grandene Racc.*, 259, *subbeto* 260;—old Venet. *simelevile*, *nobelevile*; <sup>7</sup>—N. Ital. *graveda*, *nuovelo*.<sup>8</sup>

(c) *i* > *ie* in paroxytones: *nascie*, *finiscie* (*Al.* 23), *conoscie* 25, *conducie* 29, *disdicie* 35, *istringie*, *digiungie* 45, *contradicie* 53, *crescie* 56, *vincie* (*Ap.* 11), *dicie* 17.—Cf. Flor. *dicie Crest.*, 24.

### Variants.

(a) *i* > *a* in the proparoxytone *Modana* (*S.* 7) by assimilation.—Cf. Flor. *Modana*, *Sec. Râp.*, 4.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 541.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>3</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 115.

<sup>7</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 252.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>8</sup> *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 113.

<sup>5</sup> *Schuch., Vokalismus*, II, 14, 21-2.

<sup>9</sup> cf. Post-tonic *e* > *ie*.

(b) *i* > *o* in proparoxytones: *Modona* (*I. P.* 219) by assimilation, *possivole* (*C.* 37) by assimilation to the preceding labial consonant.—Cf. Flor. *utole Tuncia*, 892, *nobol* 932, *possivol*, *Lam. di Cec.*, 2;—Luc. *Modona*, *possibole*.<sup>1</sup>

### Syncope.

(a) In hiatus.

1. Before *a*: the loan<sup>2</sup> words *ingiura* (*Al.* 5), *memora*, *pecuna* 63.

2. Before *e*: *spece* (*Gr. P.* 15), *superficie* 20.

3. Before *o*: *silenzo* (*Al.* 15), *ispazo* 23.

(b) Between consonants: *medesmo* (*Al.* 3).—Cf. Flor. *vitupero*, *impero*, *purgatoro Bocc.*, *lussura Intell.*;<sup>2</sup>—Sen. *engiura*, *matera*, *stora*;<sup>3</sup>—Luc. *medesmo*, *B. Luc.*, 81.

### Epenthesis.

After *l*, *r*, *n*: *cuculio* (*S.* 8), *alia* 32, *premuria* (*C.* 90), *usuria*, *tribunia* (*Gr. P.* 16), *minia*, *miria* 17, *calibrio* 18.

### Metathesis.

Post-tonic *i* in hiatus is attracted by the tonic syllable: *fiube* (*M.* 24), *sièda* (*C.* 100), *schioppo* (*N.* 22), *pianere*, *rispiarmo* (*Gr. P.* 13), *pianerino* 19, *stiuda* 21, *siero* 49.—Cf. Flor. *pianere*, *Lam. di Cec.*, 23, *sieda*;—Sen. *pianere*, *C. Son.*, 39, *stiuda Assetta*, 275;—Luc. *rispiarmo*, *sieda*, *stiuda*;<sup>4</sup>—Pis. *rispiarmo*;<sup>5</sup>—Aret. *rimiedo*.<sup>6</sup>

## O.

### § 8. TONIC *o*.

(a) *o* remains.

1. In open syllable before labial cons.: *omero*, *giòvane* by the side of *giòvane*.

<sup>1</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 115.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.

*Zs.*, IX, 542.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>6</sup> Billi, *Dial. Chian.* cf. Caix, *Dial. d'Ital.*, 195, n. 2.

2. In closed syllable: *adonqua*, (*Al.* 9), *lectora* 16, *nolla* *nüllam* (*rimproverane*) 32, where the translator was doubtless influenced by the non improperat of his original Latin text: *gionto* *jüñctüm* (*Cino*, 35),<sup>1</sup> *alcogna* *ălĭcünäm* 17 (in rhyme), *donche* (*C.* 8), *ponto* *püñctüm*.—Cf. Flor. *donche* *Lam. di Cec.*, 7;—Sen. *donque*,<sup>2</sup> *gionto*, *ponto*;<sup>3</sup>—Corton. *donqua* *Racc.*, 261;—Fr. *done*;—Span. *donques*.

(b)  $\varphi > \varrho$ .

1. In open syllable before *r*: *loro* (*Gr. P.* 49), *pre*, *allora*, *ancora* 50.—Cf. Luc. *ora*, *allora*, *loro*, *costoro*, *coloro*;<sup>4</sup>—Pis. *ora*, *allora*, *loro*, *costoro*, *coloro*;<sup>5</sup>—Fr. *or*, *encor*, *lor*.<sup>6</sup>

2. In closed syllable.

*a.* Before *r* (+ cons.): *corto*, *giorno*.—Cf. Flor. *giorno*.

*β.* Before *l* (+ cons.): *volgo* (*Gr. P.* 47), *colla* 50, *volto*.

*γ.* Before *cc*: *mōscio* *müccĭdüm*,<sup>7</sup> *moccio*, *bocca*; secondary *cc*: *sciocco*.

(c)  $o > u$ .

1. In open syllable: *supra* (*Al.* 25), *devuto* 32, *du' dē + ŭbi*, *induve* (*M.* 43), *nu' = noi*, *vu' = voi* (*S.* 118), *nun* (*N.* 1).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *nus*, *vus*.<sup>8</sup>

2. In closed syllable.

*a.* Before nasal (+ cons.): *Alfunso* (*Al.* 5), *prunto* 31, *unde*.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *funte*, *prunte*.<sup>9</sup>

*β.* Special cases: *amoruso* (*M.* 3, n.), *scussi* 29, *puppa*,<sup>10</sup> *fussi* (*N.* 1).—Cf. Flor. *nui Tancia*, 926, *nun Racc.*, 278, *vu C. Son.*, 77;—Sen. *duve*, *nun*, *supra*, *unde*;<sup>11</sup>—Luc. *duve*, *fussi*;<sup>12</sup>—Pis. *nun Racc.*, 291, *duve*, *fussi*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Uso*, 351.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 633.

<sup>6</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, 146.

<sup>7</sup> *Uso*, 606.

<sup>8</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 98.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 118–19.

<sup>10</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 110.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 112.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>11</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 544–6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 142–3.

§ 9. TONIC *o*.(a) *o* remains.

1. In open syllable in learned words: *lenzolo* (*S.* 94), *magghiolo* mällëölüm 97, *solo* 140, *tono* 147, *ovo* 201, *bono* (*C.* 8), *fora*, *foco* 11, *fori*, *novo* 16, *cocere* 18, *cöre* 22, *logo* 24, *omini* 33, *sono* 35, *figliolo*, *omo* (*N.* 1), *vole*, *cöce* 20, *cöco* 29, *voto* 208, *sona* (*Gr. P.* 11), *treçiolì* citrëölüm, 12, *razziolo* 15, *scöla* 33, *boi* 47.—Cf. Flor. *core*, *omo*, *bono*, *dole*, *sole Brunetto*; <sup>1</sup> Dante has *loco*, *foco* in rhyme, *trovo*, <sup>2</sup> *gioco*, *Tancia*, 904, *foco*, *omo*, *Intell.*, 138, *loco* 144, *schola* 146, *bono* 147, *novi* 150, *for* 153, *gioco* 201, *pò*, *cöce*, *core* 204, *figliola C. Son.*, 17, *sore* 28;—Sen. *bono C. Son.*, 3, *sora*, *fora*, *vole* 7, *ovo* 8, *novo* 10, *domo* 95;—in West Lucchese only the forms in *o* are heard; <sup>3</sup>—Pis. “Il dittongo dell’ *ö* è oggi costantemente ridotto nella città, ma resiste pur sempre in alcune parti della campagna;” <sup>4</sup>—Sicil. *bonu*, *novu*, *rota*, *cöri*; <sup>5</sup>—Pad. *bon*, *core*, *fora*, *homo*, *nova*. *pò* (pöst); <sup>6</sup>—Gen. *omo*, *bona*, *sor solet*, *vol vuole*, *nova*, *fora*, *po potest*, *cor*, *sona*.<sup>7</sup>

2. In closed syllable: *longo* (*Cino*),<sup>8</sup> *ogni*.—Cf. Luc. *longo Race.*, 253;—Gen. *longo*.<sup>9</sup>

(b) *o* > *u*.

1. In open syllable: *humo* (*MS.* 1330), *nuve* (*MS.* 1339), *luglio* löliüm (*S.* 95), *ugna* (pure) = *bisogna* sönütüm 151.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *humo*.<sup>10</sup>

2. In closed syllable: in *ugni* (*N.* 1) and *ugnum* (*M.* 95) the *o* is raised to the *u* by the *u* + *i*; *fursi* (*M.* 12) is unexplained.<sup>11</sup> Is the *u* due to the following *i*?—Cf. Pop. Lat. *prursus*; <sup>12</sup>—Flor. *ugni Lam. di Cec.*, 4;—Luc. *fursi*, *ugni*; <sup>13</sup>—Pis. *fursi*, *ugni*; <sup>14</sup>—Corton. *pu pöst Race.*, 259.

<sup>1</sup> Zehle, *Laut-und Flex.*, 12, 13.<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 110.<sup>3</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 109.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.<sup>5</sup> Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 17.<sup>6</sup> Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 12, 13.<sup>7</sup> *A. G.*, X, 145.<sup>8</sup> Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 278.<sup>9</sup> Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 114.<sup>10</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 134.<sup>11</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 65.<sup>12</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 123.<sup>13</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 110.<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.



(c)  $\phi$  in open syllable  $> u\phi$ : *rispuose* (*Al.* 4), *truono* (*J.* 26), *pruovo*, *truovo*.—Cf. *Sen. rispuose*;<sup>1</sup>—*Luc. muodo*, *duodeci*;<sup>2</sup>—*Tuscan truova*, *puote*;<sup>3</sup>—*Pad. mud* (= *modo*), *nuovo*,—*uolo*, *cuofano*, *nuove* ( $< n\ddot{o}v\ddot{e}m$ ), *ruosa*, *cuorpo*, *muorto*, *puovero*;<sup>4</sup>—old *Venet. pruova*, *compuose*, *muodo*;<sup>5</sup>—*N. Ital. muodo*, *nuove*, *ruosa*.<sup>6</sup>

## § 10. ATONIC o.

### 1. Pretonic o.

(a)  $o > a$ .

1. Before *r*: *argollio* (*Al.* 8), *barbottare*  $\beta\acute{o}\rho\beta o\pi o\varsigma$  + (*S.* 46) influenced by *barba*; <sup>7</sup> *scarpione* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Special cases: *canoscentha* (*Al.* 60), *accupare* (*S.* 8) is due to the confounding of the prepositions *ob* and *ad*, *Salamone* (*C.* 96) by assimilation.—Cf. *Flor. Attavione*, *Salamone*, *scarpione*,<sup>8</sup> *Taniri* *Purg.* XII, 56, *ancidore* *Inf.* V, 61;—*Sen. scarpione*, *acconare*, *accasione*, *ac(c)upare*, *Salamone*; <sup>9</sup>—*Pis. calosso*, *Bartalomeo*; <sup>10</sup>—*Pad. hanore*, *canoscere*.<sup>11</sup>

(b)  $o > i$ .

1. By assimilation: *giritondo*<sup>12</sup>  $g\ddot{y}r[are]$  + *rotunda* (*M.* 77), *pricissione* (*S.* 7).

2. Special cases: *vilume* (*M.* 8, n.) is influenced by *viluppo*, *vilucchio*,<sup>13</sup> *accomidare* (*S.* 8) is formed on *comido* = *comodo* by analogy with the many forms in *-ido*,<sup>14</sup> *innunistante* (*N.* 33) where the *i* is probably prosthetic *i* before *s* impurum.<sup>15</sup>—Cf. *Flor. ignum Tancia*, 907, *pricission* 925;—*Aret. diminio*, *accomidare*; <sup>16</sup>—*Rom. accomidare*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 542.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 109.

<sup>3</sup> *B. d'Antona, Zs.*, XV, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Wendriner, Pad. Mund.*, 13.

<sup>5</sup> *A. G.*, III, 249–50.

<sup>6</sup> *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 114.

<sup>7</sup> *Körting, Lat.-Rom. Wb.*, 1286.

<sup>8</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 547.

<sup>9</sup> *Billi, Dial Chian.* cf. *Caix, Dial d'Ital.*, 195.

<sup>10</sup> *Caix, Dial d'Ital.*, 205.

<sup>8</sup> *Parodi, Romania*, XVIII, 601.

<sup>9</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 547.

<sup>10</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 145.

<sup>11</sup> *Wendriner, Pad. Mund.*, 20.

<sup>12</sup> cf. *Caix, Dial d'Ital.*, 195, n. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 114.

<sup>14</sup> *Parodi, Romania*, XVIII, 601.

(c)  $o > u$ .

This development of pretonic  $o > u$  is a strong Pistojesse characteristic, particularly of the modern language.

1. In hiatus: in *Buemia* (I. P. 466) and *tuelette* (Gr. P. 15) the  $e$  raises the  $o$  to  $u$ .

2.  $u$  with following  $i$ .

(1.) Before labial cons.: *ubriaza* (Al. 65), *ubbrigoe* (C. 15), *ubbidienza* (V. and M. 188), *Uvidio* (Al. 54).

(2.) Before other cons. than labials: *ucchiello* (Uso, 1007), *udiato* (Al. 8), *ulivo*.

β. Other cases of  $u$  with following  $i$ .

(1.) Before  $l, m, n, r$ : *tavulini* (M. 31), *culizione* (C. 10), *culizionare* 13, *cultivazione* (N. 228), *inchuminciamenti* (Al. 11), *parturirà* 16, *sbaturlir* (M. 26).

(2.) Before other cons. than  $l, m, n, r$ : *puchino* (N. 228), *cucchieri* 320, *costudimento* (Gr. P. 12), *devuzione* (Son. Pop., 57).

(3.)  $u$  with following  $e$ .

α. Before labial cons.: *comprumetto* (C. 9), *mumento* 16, *imprumettere* 77, *mumentino* (Gr. P. 39), *Ruberto* (N. 42), *puesia*, *pueda*, *puetare* 91.

β. Before  $n$ : *muneta* (C. 41).

γ. Before  $r$ : *garanturerò* (M. 71), *curtelluccio* (C. 15), *curtello* (N.-N. 19).

δ. Before  $t$ : *prutestoe* (C. 36), *prutezione* 179.

4.  $u$  with following  $a$ .

α. Before liquids: *diavularie* (M. 8), *diavulaccio* 17, *propulaccio* 76, *crullare* (S. 8), *luntano* (Al. 42), *bronturar* (M. 68), *tremurar* 81.

β. Special cases: *cognato* (Al. 16), *giucare* (M. 3, n.).

5. Special cases: *curruccio* (I. P. 487) and *nunustante* (Son. Pop., 57) are due to assimilation; *frugiuron* (M. 66), *spenzurone* 80.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *cognata*, *muneta*; <sup>1</sup>—Flor. *munimento* Intell., 198, *ulivo*, *ubbrigare*, *pulizia*, *Spuleto*, <sup>2</sup>*mumento* C. Son., 9, *culizione* 17, *upinione* 30, *puetico* 33, *prugresso* 52;—Sen.

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 127, 136.      <sup>2</sup> Parodi, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.

*ammunire*, *amunizione*, *arbuscello*, *buttiga*, *buttino*, *co(n)punzione*, *crullare*, *cumuno*, *cumunione*, *cuprire*, *munisterio*, *muneto*, *pulizia*, *spuleto*, *ubligare*, *up(p)inione*, *urechio*,<sup>1</sup> *prucissione* *C. Son.*, 70, *mumento*, *ugnun Compon.*, 315;—*Luc. cugnato*, *pulenta*, *cureggia*, *Lunardo*, *muneta*,<sup>2</sup> *cucchieri* *Racc.*, 247, *nunistante* 253;—*Pis. prutesta*, *muneta*, *mumento*, *fumento*, *cuscienza*, *unore*, *udorato*, *sumiglia*, *innucenzia*, *imprumessa*, *preputente*, *memuriale*, *capurale*, *piruletta*, *cugnato*, *cunsegnare*, *Furli*, *menumare*, *accumiatare*, *ammunire*;<sup>3</sup>—*Corton. puduto* *Racc.*, 258, *cugneta*, *pruvista* 261, *vussignuria* 263, *puchino*, *furestiero*, *scuprire*, *puisie*;<sup>4</sup>—*Neapol. accusi*, *pucta*, *prufeta*.<sup>5</sup>

(d.) *o > uo* by analogy with stem-accented forms: *rispuondendo* (*Al.* 24), *suonato* (*Gr. P.* 11), *scuolaro* 22.—*Cf. Flor. suonando Purg. X*, 4, *tuonar XV*, 138<sup>6</sup>;—*N. Ital. repuosare*, *ahuogare*, *muolare*.<sup>7</sup>

#### Variants.

(a) *o* remains in the learned word *cocina* (*Gr. P.* 43).—*Cf. Sen. cocina*.<sup>8</sup>

(b) *o > e*: *interpidi* (*M.* 71); *precissione* (*Gr. P.* 11) is due to the confounding of prefixes.—*Cf. Pis. precissione C. Son.*, 36.

#### Apheresis.

*'bria* *ðblät* (*Al.* 13), *gni*, *gnuno* (*Ricc.*, 30), *immè* = *o(h)imè* (*V. and M.* 100), *ibè* = *oibè* (*Uso*, 470).—*Cf. Flor. gnun Tan- cia*, 910;—*Sen. 'gnuno C. Son.*, 8.

#### Syncope.

*disnore* (*Al.* 43), *bainetta* Bayonne + (*S.* 8).—*Cf. Sen. disnore*,<sup>8</sup> *bainette C. Son.*, 64.

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 547.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 115.

<sup>3</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 123.

<sup>5</sup> *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Zehle, Laut-und Flex.*, 30.

<sup>7</sup> *Mussafia, Beitrüge*, 114.

<sup>8</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 548.

2. *Post-tonic o.*(a)  $o > e$ .1. In paroxytones: *quande* (*Gr. P.* 22) formed by analogy with *dove*, *donde*.2. In proparoxytones before *r*: *metafero* (*Gr. P.* 13), *fosfero* 14.(b)  $o (+l) > u (+l, r)$  in proparoxytones: *diavulo* (*M.* 88), *nócciu* *r* *nūcčölüm* 4, *lucciuro* 9, *sdrucciuro* 29, *rossignuri* *lūscīnūōlā* 81.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *diabulo*.<sup>1</sup>

## Variants.

(a) *o* remains in the proparoxytone *lievore* *lēpōrēm* (*Al.* 7).(b)  $o > a$  in proparoxytones: *filosafo* (*C.* 72) influenced by *šāpēre*; *atamo* (*Gr. P.* 14) by assimilation.—Cf. Sen. *filosafo*.<sup>2</sup>(c)  $o > i$  in the proparoxytone *comido* (*C.* 64) formed by analogy with the many forms in *-ido*.<sup>3</sup>

## Syncope.

*dialo* *dīābōlüm* (*Al.* 55).

## Metathesis.

*entroni* (*M.* 22).

## U

## § 11. TONIC U.

*u* remains: (*un'*) *uncia* (*Gr. P.* 12), probably influenced by the article *un*, is the only example in Pistoiese where tonic *u* varies from the Italian.

## § 12. ATONIC U.

1. *Pretonic u.*(a) *u* remains.1. In hiatus: *ciuino* *sūinüm* (*Ner.*),<sup>4</sup> *suave* (*S. Fr.* 60).<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 133.<sup>2</sup> cf. Parodi, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.<sup>3</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 548.<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Caix, *Studi*, 289.

## 2. In learned and half-learned words.

a. Before labial cons. : *supradetta* (B. 83), *suprabunda* (S. Fr. 23), *puppare* (Uso 780), *summità* (S. Fr. 11).

β. Before liquids : *populazo* (Ricc., 32), *moltiplicare* (S. Fr. 27), *particolare* 52, *difficoltà* (N. 181), *urviato* (Ricc., 25), *ratturbare* (C. 92), *currieri* (N. 14), *giocurare* (Uso, 437).

γ. Before *n* : *habundare*, *fundare* (S. Fr. 2), *circundata* 8.

δ. Before *s* : *circustantia* (S. Fr. 9), *cusì*.

ε. Special cases : *crucifisso* (J. 29), *scudella* (Gr. P. 12) formed on *scudo*.—Cf. Dante, who preserves the pretonic *u* before *l* : *maculato* Inf. I, 33, *canicolare* XXV, 10, *singulare* Purg. VIII, 67, *sepulchrale* XXI, 7, *articulare* XXV, 69 ;<sup>1</sup>—Sen. *scudella*, *manutenere*, *abundanza*, *voluntà*, *cullui* ;<sup>2</sup>—Luc. *ruvina*, *scudella*, *curtello*, *singulare* ;<sup>3</sup>—Pis. *scudella*, *curtello*, *populare*, *cusì* ;<sup>4</sup>—Corton. *cusì* Race., 263.

(b) *u* > *i* through *ü* ;<sup>5</sup> that is *u* is fronted and then unrounded : *bigia* (Ap. 97) ; *bifonchiato* (M. 48) and *timore tūmōrēm* (C. 106) are due to dissimilation ;<sup>6</sup> *manitengolo* 42.—Cf. Flor. *Ridolfo* Purg. VII, 94, *ognindì Tancia*, 936, *monimento* 955 ;—Sen. *rimore*, *giramento*, *gidicare*, *gignore* (juniorum) ;<sup>7</sup>—Luc. *piggello*, *dindolare* ;<sup>8</sup>—Pis. *nicciolo*.<sup>9</sup>

(c) *u* > *o* in old Pistoiese.

1. In hiatus : *perpetoale* (Al. 66), *continoamente* 72.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *perpetoali*.<sup>10</sup>

2. For pretonic *u* > *o* out of hiatus it is difficult to formulate a rule. Perhaps the cause of this development can be traced to the influence of the Umbrian-Aretino school : *soperbia* (Al. 9), *omana*, *otilitade*, *natorale*, *anonziano* 12, *prononziano* 13 by assimilation, *soficente* 15, *prodenza* 19 formed on *prode*, *adolterio* 34, *soccidere* 35, *innomerevili* 53, *ineobriato* 54, *ponire* 55, *vitoperio* 57, *oscire* 65, *istodiosamente* 70, *torri-*

<sup>1</sup> Zehle, *Laut-und Flex.*, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Zs., IX, 549.

<sup>3</sup> A. G., XII, 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>5</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 191 foll.

<sup>6</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 358.

<sup>7</sup> Zs., IX, 549.

<sup>8</sup> A. G., XII, 115.

<sup>9</sup> A. G., XII, 146.

<sup>10</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 162.

*bile* tūs (tūris) + (J. 3), *dinonzare* 12, *sopportare* (I. P. 273) and *dobboletto* (M. 35) by assimilation, *nodrite* (Cino, 94), *occiso* 105; modern are *annosando* (M. 71), *gostasse* 91, *soppidiano* (S. 8), *costudimento* (Gr. P. 12), *omore*<sup>1</sup> by assimilation.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *homano*, *ponire*;<sup>2</sup>—Guittone d'Arezzo and his school: *ottulità*, *osaggio*, *storbare*, *gostando*, *soperbia*, *omiltà*, *soficiente*, *prodenza*, *sopporre*, *dobitoso*;<sup>3</sup>—Sen. *nodrire*, *oneversità*, *omore*, *osanza*, *congiogale*, *forare*, *formento*, *robrica*, *soprire* (suppire), *stromento*, *totore* (tütörēm);<sup>4</sup>—Luc. *torbato*, *coscino*, *Nonziata*, *oncino*;<sup>5</sup>—Pis. *scollino*, *morella*, *usorieri*, *torbato*, *oncino*.<sup>6</sup>

#### Variants.

*u* > *e* before *r*: *teribule* tūs (tūris) + (Ap. 33), *userajo* ūsūrārīŭm (S. 8) by dissimilation.—Cf. Sen. *teribilo*.<sup>7</sup>

#### Apheresis.

'*n* = *uno* (Son. Pop., 43), '*na* = *una* 55, '*niversale* 43. In '*n* and '*na* the tonic *u* becomes pretonic before it is cut off by apheresis.—Cf. Flor. '*n*, '*na*;<sup>1</sup>—Sen. '*na* C. Son., 13, '*Golino* 41;—Luc. '*na* Can. Pop., 19;—Pis. '*Golino* C. Son., 23, '*na* 85.

#### Syncope.

After *q*: *catrino* (C. 36), *ligori* (Gr. P. 43).—Cf. Flor. *chistione* C. Son., 40.

#### 2. Post-tonic *u*.

(a) *u* remains in proparoxytones.

1. Before *l*: *teribule* tūs (tūris) + (Ap. 33), *populo* (S. Fr. 40), *seculo* 51.

2. Before *l* > *r*: *bruscuro* būxŭlŭm (M. 3), *pisuro* 7, *roturo* 25, *scarrabatturi* 31, *cioture* German. schutt + ŭlŭm 37, *trot-*

<sup>1</sup> Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 274.

<sup>2</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 182, 186.

<sup>3</sup> Caix, *Origini*, 95; Zehle, *Laut-und Flex.*, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Zs., IX, 548-9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. XII, 115.

<sup>7</sup> cf. pt > ct, § 16, 2.

*tura*, *fignuro* .German. *finne* + *ülüm* 42, *spiguro* 43, *brocuri* 53, *ventricuro* 56, *pillura*, *rozzura*, *moccuro* *Uso*, 639.—Cf. *Flor. maculo* *Lam. di Cec.*, 8, *popul Intell.*, 200;—*Luc. pillura*, *becuro*, *pentura*, *tomburo*, *populo*, *tabernaculo*, *turibulo*; <sup>1</sup>—*populo*, *turibulo*.<sup>2</sup>

## AU

## § 13. TONIC AU.

*au* (generally secondary) remains in old Pistojesse: *paraula* (*Al.* 3), *paulo* 21, *laudi* 22, *diaula* 48, *imparaule* (*J.* 16), *taula* 24, *auro*, *tesauro* (*Cino*, 424).—Cf. *Flor. auro Intell.*, 132;—*Luc. aulo*, *paraula*, *taula*, *diaulo*, *fraula*, *miraulo*, *Paulo*; <sup>3</sup>—*Pis. naulo*, *raula*, *taula*, *caulo*, *Paulo*.<sup>4</sup>

## Variants.

(a) *au* > *u*; that is the *a* is rounded by assimilation to the *u* and then *uu* is reduced to *u*: *u aut* (*Al.* 7).

(b) *au* > *uo*: *può paucum* (*Gr. P.* 40).

## § 14. ATONIC AU.

1. Pretonic *au*.

(a) *au* > *a*: in old Pistojesse: *atorità* (*Al.* 53), *aricalco* (*J.* 24).

(b) *au* > *o*: *odierue* (*Al.* 36), *osingatori* 39, *ogosto* (*Ricc.*, 3), by assimilation, *odito* (*Cino*, 72), *orologio* = *lauro* + *regio* (*V. and M.* 21).—Cf. *Luc. Ogosto B. Luc.*, 16.

<sup>1</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

## CONSONANTS.

## A. LABIALS.

## P

## § 15. INITIAL P.

## Variants.

- (a)  $p > c$ : *cicco* = *piccolo* (*M.* 28) by assimilation.  
 (b)  $p > f$ : *fermanenza* (*Gr. P.* 18), probably *permanenza* + *fermare*, (*fà*) *foo* = *poco* (*Son. Pop.*, 43) by assimilation.

## § 16. MEDIAL P.

1. Intervocalic *p*.

$p > pp$ : *sappiente* (*M.* 6), (*co'*) *ppiè* 53, *doppo* (*C.* 11), *trap-pocho* (*Gr. P.* 25).—Cf. *Sen. pappa, doppo*, *G(igli)*, *V(ocabolario Cateriniano)*, remarks: “Doppo scrisse la Santa (Caterina), e tutti i Sanesi, ed i Lucchesi, ed i Pisani, ed i Pistojesi, ed gli Aretini.”<sup>1</sup>

## Variants.

- (a) *p* remains: *apo* *apud* (*Al.* 16).  
 (b)  $p > b$ : *abis lăpīs* (*Gr. P.* 11).

2. *p* before a consonant.

$p(+t) > c(+t)$  in old Pistojesse by analogy with the numerous Latin words in *et* as *dīctūm*, etc.: *corrocto cōrrūptūm* (*Al.* 8), *achaeta ādcăptūm*, *scripto* 12, *iscrittura*, *incactiviscie* 30, *settembre* 71.

## Variants.

- (a)  $p(+t)$  remains: *scripto* (*Al.* 7).—Cf. *Pis. scripto Crest.*, 166.

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 566.



(b)  $p(+r) > b(+r)$ : *abrilē* (*Al.* 74), *ginebro jūnĭp'rūs* (*Gr. P.* 14).

### Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic  $p$ : *piolare pĭpĭlāre* (*C.* 89) by dissimilation.

(b) Before  $t$ : *iscrito* (*Al.* 14), *Batista*. (*J.* 16), *setanta* (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *otime*, *Setembres*, *setimo*.<sup>1</sup>

## PP

### § 17. MEDIAL PP.

#### 1. Intervocalic *pp*.

$pp > p$  in old Pistoiese: *aparechia āppāricŭlāre* (*Al.* 12), *apuntato* (*Ap.* 7), *aporrà* 99.

#### 2. *pp* before a consonant.

$pp + r > pr$ : *apresso* (*Al.* 9), *aprossima* (*Ap.* 97).

## B

### § 18. INITIAL B.

#### Variants.

(a)  $b > f$ : *forbotta* (*C.* 11) by dissimilation.

(b)  $b > m$ : *migna* by the assimilation of the oral labial to the nasal labial.

### § 19. MEDIAL B.

#### 1. Intervocalic *b*.

(a)  $b > bb$ : *abbominazione* (*Ap.* 71), *rubato* (*N.* 115), *scabelli* (*M.* 31), *dobboletto* 35, *robba* (*S.* 10), *libbera* (*C.* 9), *subbito* 12, (*qu'*) *bbambino* (*Gr. P.* 23), *subbitana* 24, *sabbato* 35.—Cf. Sen. *robba*, *robbare*,<sup>2</sup> *subbito* *C. Son.*, 8;—Luc. *debbito*, *nobbile*; <sup>3</sup>—Pis. *libbero*, *subbito*, *dubbitare*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 143–4.

<sup>2</sup> Zs., IX, 566.

<sup>3</sup> A. G., XII, 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

(b)  $b > g$  probably under Etruscan influence: *lagorare* (S. 93), *nugole* *nūbīlēm* (C. 22), *lagoro*.—Cf. Flor. *lagorare Tancia*, 875, *lagorío* 877, *lagoro* 926;—Sen. *lagorare*, *lagorío*, *diagol* *dīābōlūm*.<sup>1</sup>

#### Variants.

(a)  $b$  remains in old Pistoiese: *dubio* (Al. 5), *debono* (J. 1), *obedire* 15.

(b)  $b > sc$ : *diascolio* (C. 43), *diascolo*.—Cf. Flor. *diascolo Tancia*, 876.

(c)  $b > v$ : *possivole* (C. 37).

(d)  $b > vv$ : *avorto* *ābōrtūm* (M. 46).

#### 2. $b$ after a consonant.

$m + b > mm$ : *incommensa* *cūmbēre* + (Gr. P. 17).—Cf. Luc. *incommensa*, *incammo* = *in* + *cambio*.<sup>2</sup>

#### 3. $b$ before a consonant.

#### Variants.

(a) Before  $r$ .

1.  $b$  remains: *labra* (Al. 3), *febraio* (Ricc., 34), *fabrica* (Gr. P. 43).

2.  $b > bb$ : *libbro*, *libbra* (Gr. P. 11).

3.  $b > p$ : *Ottopre* (Gr. P. 11).

4.  $b > r$  by assimilation: *Ferrago* (S. 76).

5.  $b > v$ : *livre* *librām* (J. 2), *livra* (J. 2, n.).—Cf. Sen. *livro* *librum*, *livra*;<sup>2</sup>—Pis. *livra*, *ottorre*.<sup>3</sup>

(b)  $b (+ s)$  remains: *observare* (Al. 13).

(c)  $b (+ t) > c (+ t)$  in old Pistoiese by analogy with the many Latin forms in *ct* as *dīctūm*, etc.:<sup>4</sup> *socto* *subtus* (Al. 4), *soctilmente* 13, *soctile* 27, *asoczialiamento* 31.—Cf. Luc. *socto* B. Luc., 5.

Zs., IX, 566.

<sup>2</sup>A. G., XII, 124.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 152.

<sup>4</sup>cf. *pt* > *ct*, § 16, 2.

## Syncope.

- (a) Intervocalic *b*: *altroe* älitër + übī (*Al.* 5), *diacula* 48.  
 (b) Before a consonant: *oservare* (*Al.* 46), *solevò* (*Ap.* 79),  
*Feraio* (*Ricc.*, 60).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *Feraras* (= *Februarias*).<sup>1</sup>

## Epenthesis.

After *m* the voiced labial *b* is introduced as a glide in modern Pistoiese: *stombaco* (*M.* 6), *rigombitò* = *vomitò* 8, *ombè* 16, *stombachini* 47, *camberata* 72, *sembola* (*C.* 17), *cambera* 21, *rembolare* rëmöräre (*N.* 76), *sembolino*, *gombiti*, *prezzembolo* (secondary *m*) pëtrösëttinön, *coombero* cücümërëm (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. Flor. *ombè Tancia*, 879;—Luc. *cambera*, *coombaro*, *tomburo*, *sembola*, *gombito*, *stombaco*; <sup>2</sup>—Pis. *cambera*, *coombero*, *sembola*, *gombito*, *stombaco*; <sup>3</sup>—Aret. *fiamba*, *sembola*; <sup>4</sup>—*Ladini stombec*.<sup>4</sup>

## BB

## § 20. MEDIAL BB.

1. Intervocalic *bb*.

## Variant.

*bb* > *b*: *babo* bābūm (*Gr. P.* 21).

## F

## § 21. MEDIAL F.

1. Intervocalic *f*.

*f* > *ff* only after the conjunctions *e*, *che*, the prepositions *a*, *da* and the article *la*: *effine* = *e* + *fine* (*Ap.* 5), *effa'* 9, *effugli* 25, *effortezza* 31, *effu* 35, *effedeli* 73, *effano* 75, *cheffecie* 59, *affor-michare* 11, *affinire*, *daffare* (*Gr. P.* 40), *laffemmina* (*Ap.* 71).—Cf. Aret. *a ffine*, *a ffare* *Crest.*, 176, *e ffa*, *a fforza* 179.

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 128; III, 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 120.

<sup>4</sup> Ascoli, *A. G.*, I, 308, n. 2.

2. *f* after a consonant.

## Variants.

$(n +)f > (n) + ff$ : 'nffine (Al. 76).

## Prosthesis.

*fazione* = *fare* + *azione* (Gr. P. 18).

## FF

## § 22. MEDIAL FF.

1. Intervocalic *ff*.

$ff > f$ : *oficio* (Al. 21), *dificile* (Ricc., 29), *difiultà* (Gr. P. 15), *afezionata* 21.

2. *ff* before a consonant.

(a)  $ff(+r) > f(+r)$ : *ofrivano* (Gr. P. 22).

## V

## § 23. INITIAL V.

(a)  $v > b$ : *bomitare* (Ap. 17), *bocie* = *voce* 19, *bassogliate* vāsōrīŭm + (M. 43), *boto*.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *bia*, *bice*, *benisti*;<sup>1</sup>—Flor. *boce*;—Sen. *boce*, *bociare*, *boto*.<sup>2</sup>

(b)  $v > g$ ; that is *b* becomes bilabial and is then backed under Etruscan influence: *golaa*, *golatina*, *gorpe* = *volpe* (C. 10).—Cf. Sen. *golpe*, *golare*, *golo*.

## § 24. MEDIAL V.

1. Intervocalic *v*.

## Variants.

(a) *v* remains: *pavura* (C. 9).

(b)  $v > vv$ : *provveggo* (M. 54), *intravvenuto* (N. 31).

(c)  $v > b$ : *eba* (Al. 26).

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Zs., IX, 567.

- (d)  $v > g$ : *rigomità* (*M.* 8).  
 (e)  $v + i > bi$ : *gabie gävëä* (*Gr. P.* 43).

## 2. *v* before a consonant.

- (a)  $v (+ t) > p (+ t)$ : *ciptadella* (*Ricc.*, 10), *ciptadino* 11, *cipta* 27.

### Syncope.

Intervocalic *v* in modern Pistoiese: (*la*) '*ogghio* (*S.* 7), *arriare* 11, *rimbère*, (*ti*) '*éggo* 32, *riende* 80, *Liorno* 92, *ciilino* 96, *Ciitaecchia*, (*ci*) '*engo* 104, *ulio* 106, (*dì*) '*edere* 122, *diino* 151, (*prendera*) '*ista* 152, *gioentù* 159, (*la*) '*ostra* 205, *Serralle* 231, *traerso*, *proerbio* (*C.* 8), *cattio*, *brao* 9, *lea*, *diénto* 15, *gioane*, *caati* 18, *gioanino*, *ciétta*, *leatico*, *taola* 19, *taolino* 29, *gioanotto* 36, *dierto* 40, *incattiuta* 43, *rinciilita* 44, and in the old language *fao* (*Al.* 15); secondary *v*: *aére* (*S.* 20), *péro* 29, *caallo* 30, *toagghia* Germanic *þwahlja* 58, *aanzo* 116, *laorare* 128, *scriano*, *troare* 151, *beanda* *bībāndā* 153, *laoro* (*C.* 22), *auta*, *addoe* 26, *beer* *bībère* 27, *caalluccio* 32, *goerno* 33, *scriere* (*S.* and *C.* 21).—Cf. *Flor. auto Tancia*, 936, (*ci*) '*orrebbe* *C. Son.*, 6, (*potessi*) '*enire*, (*si*) '*ede* 7, (*ha*) '*isto*, *troallo* 10, (*una*) '*orta* 13, *dientare* 14, *leare* 15, *goerno* 41, *brao* 44, *taola* 77, *spiouto* *Racc.*, 280, *ccaolo* 282, *quiggione*, *riceere* 284;—*Sen. bree*, (*naso*) '*ole* *C. Son.*, 7, *auto* 16, *poero* 26;—*Luc. auto*, *beuto*, *riceuto*, *attroe*;<sup>1</sup>—*Pis. auto*, *beuto*, *riceuto*, *piouto*, *attroe*.<sup>2</sup>

### Epenthesis.

Intervocalic *v*: *Pavolo* (*Gr. P.* 46); under the influence of the labial vowel *o*, intervocalic *v* is intercalated in order to break hiatus.

## W

### § 25. INITIAL W.

#### Variants.

- (a)  $w > b$ : *bidalesco* German. *widerrist* (*M.* 41).

<sup>1</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 148–9.

(b)  $w > g'$ : *giangie* O. H. G. *wankja* (*Gr. P.* 14), by assimilation.

(c)  $w > v$ : *verra* German. *wërra* (*Al.* 68).

## B. DENTALS.

### T

#### § 26. INITIAL T.

##### Variants.

##### 1. *Simple initial.*

$t > ch (=k)$  through *tj*: *chiepido* (*M.* 58), *chienire* (*Gr. P.* 37)  
 $< tienire < tènère$ .

##### 2. *Initial group.*

$t(+r) > f(+r)$ : *fracchienere* (*C.* 28).

#### § 27. MEDIAL T.

##### 1. *Intervocalic t.*

(a)  $t > tt$  after *a*, *che*: *atte* = *a + te* (*Ap.* 9), *attestimoniare* 97, *chettu*, *chettiene* 7, *chetteme* 81; also *eterno* 59, *mattutina* 13, *etta* (*Ricc.*, 44), (*sia*) *ttopi* (*M.* 34), *anedotto* an-éc-doton (*Gr. P.* 47).—Cf. *Luc. acchitto*, *cottone*, *tittolo*;<sup>1</sup>—*Pis. cottono*, *uttilidade*, *Prottonotaio*, *Mattelda*,<sup>2</sup> *regalatta*, *pagatta*, *compratta*, *usatta* *C. Son.*, 59.

(b)  $t > d$ .

1. In the terminations *-ate*, *-ute*, *-tore* in old Pistojesse: *generalidade*, *oscuridade* (*Al.* 3), *volontade*, *amistade* 4, *veridade*, *fidelidade*, *vanidade* 7, *malvascitade* 8, *nequitade* 9, *otilitade*, *crudelitadi* 12, *quantidade* 13, *qualidade* 14, *sanidade* 15, *adversidade* 19, *difficoltade* 23, *onestade*, *bontade* 25, *humanidade*, *somitade* 31, *voluttade*, *infermitade* 35, *necessidade* 36, *iniquitade* 50, *possibilitade* 52, *autoritadi* 59, *poverdade*, *parentadi*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

61, *libertade*, *mendicitude* 62, *cittade* 64, *benignitude* 69, *santade* 71, *nimistade* 74, *ereditade* (*B.* 81), *nativitade* (*J.* 1), *etade*, *podestade* 2, *solennitade* 5, *universitade* 7, *metade* 9, *festivitade* 10, *proprietade* 16, *nuditade* (*Ap.* 17), *chiaritade* 91; *vertude* (*Al.* 57), *servitude* 66; *servidore* 5, *inperidore* 53. In Albertano there are only two forms in which the termination *-ate* is preserved: *utilitate* 47, *cupiditate* 71, while the preservation of *-tore* is the rule: *difenditore* 12, *uditore* 14, *lusingatore* 21, *gridatore* 25, etc.

2. Special cases: *privadi* (*Al.* 21), *rachidine* Grk. *ραχίτις* (*Gr.* *P.* 14), *podere*.—Cf. Flor. *volontade* *Crest.*, 20; “Die Endungen der Substantiva auf *-ate*, *-ute*, welche bei den ältesten Dichtern fast ausschliesslich gesetzt werden—höchst selten sind *-ade*, *-ude*—haben bei Dante ebenso häufig *-ade*, *-ude* neben sich, sowohl im Reim wie in der Mitte des Verses. Auch Brunetto hat beide Formen.”<sup>1</sup> *imperadore* *Inf.* I, 134;—*Sen.* *fadiga*, *amministradore*, *staduto*, *mudande*, *podere*, *privado*;<sup>2</sup>—*Luc.* *fedeltade* *B. Luc.*, 3, *voluntade* 18, *podestade*, *meitade*, *dignitade* 32, *comunitade* 34, *utilitade* 61, *quantitade* 70, *cittade* 74, etc.;—*Pis.* *utilitade*,<sup>3</sup> *servidore* *Crest.*, 58;—*Canzon. ital.* *podestade*, *eitade*, *sanitade*, *aversitade*, *onestade*, *utilitade*, *amistade*, *gioventade*, *chastitade*, *bonitade*, *pietade*, *charitade*, by the side of the forms in *-ate*, etc. Also *amadore*, *galiadore*, *validore*, *rappidor*, *miradore*, *partadore*, *speradore*, by the side of *vengiatore*, etc.<sup>4</sup>

(c) *t > th* (p) regularly in modern Pistoiese; the development occurs more frequently after the accent than before it.

1. After the accent.

*a.* 5 Pres. Indicative and Imperative: *fathemi*, *dathemi*, *scusathemi*, *stathe*, *parlathe*, *siethe*, *vedethe*, *credethe*, *dithe*, *sentithe*, *venithe*, etc.

*β.* Perf. Participle: *datho*, *statho*, *natho*, *amatho*, *portatho*, *pagatho*, *tentatho*, *scusatho*, *mostratho*, *adoperatho*, *autho*, *sapu-*

<sup>1</sup> Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 560.

<sup>4</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 155-6.

*tho*, *perdutho*, *itho*, *sortitho*, *capitho*, *sentitho*, *venitho*, *finitho*, *salitho*, etc.

γ. Other cases: *pothere*, *ripethere*, *vitha*, *giornathe*, *mutho*, *consuetho*, and in the old language *popolatho* (*Al.* 58).

2. Before the accent: *patherno*, *pothea*, *compathire*, (*eggħi*) *thornava*, *dubithò*, *piethà*, *pathibolo*, (*che*) *thiene*, (*la*) *therra*, (*la*) *thesta*, *muthamento*, and in the old language *catholica* (*Al.* 66).—

In the Florentine dialect intervocalic *t* after the accent becomes *ch* (written in *Uso* *ch*, in *C. Son.* *c*, before *a*, *o*, and *ch* before *e*, but pronounced open *ch*). Examples from *Uso*: *Pilacho*, *restacha*, *vedeche*, *sieche*, *ache*, *entracho*, *aspettache*, *dareche*, *voissucho* = *volsuto*, *pedache*, *veniche* 206, *voleche*, *potucho*, *siache*, *peccacho* 207, *facciacha*, *parlacho*, *diche*, *notache*, *usacho*, *ripetuchio* 208, etc. Examples from *C. Son.*: *finico* 19, *scappaca*, *procuraco*, *stampaco*, *proibica*, *studiaco* 20, *giornaca*, *guadagnaca*, *disgraziaca*, *sudaco* 22, *staco* 29, *sentico*, *portaco* 30, *nottache*, *giulebbache*, *sonache* 33, *daco*, *citaco*, *sieche* 36, etc.

#### Variants.

(a) *t* > *ct*: *tictolo* (*Al.* 4).

(b) *t* > *gg'*: *meggia mētā* (*C.* 8).

(c) *t* > *r*: *coresto eccu* + *tibi* + *istum* (*M.* 11).

#### *t* + *î*.

(a) *t* (+ *î*) remains in old Pistojesse: *gratia* (*Al.* 3), *ispositione* 5, *genneratione*, *gratiosa* 8, *malitia* 11, *amicitia* 12, *giustitia* 15, *tristitia* 20, *pretioso* 27, *avaritia* 34, *malitiosi*, *convisatione* 38, *liberatione* (*J.* 9), *pretio* 11, *amonitione*, *reparatione* 15, *operationi* 17, *tribulationi* (*Ricc.*, 1), *ufitali* 16, *devotione* 23, *venitiani* 24, *tristitia* 51, *tribulationi* 57, *laudatia* (*Ap.* 5), *sagrifittii* 11, *tentatione* 15, *beneditione* 21, *orationi*, *natione* 23, *intossichationi*, *fornicationi* 41, *dannatione*, *bordellatione* 69, *abominatione*, *amiratione* 71, *dilitie* 75, *giustificazioni* 81, *gratiosamente* 89, *diftio* 93.—Cf. *Luc. restitutione B. Luc.*, 2, *conditione* 6, *spetiale*, *petitione*, *gratia* 15, *inquisitione*



23, *comparitione* 29, *generatione* 48, *distributione* 54, *examinatione* 91, *emendatione*, *probatione* 101, *diffinitione* 102;—Canzon. ital. *condizione*, *pretioso*, *vitio*, *gratia*, *iustitia*, *karitia*, *dovitia*, *rationale*.<sup>1</sup>

(b)  $t(+i) > sc(+i) = \check{s}$  in old Pistojesse: *rascione* (*Al.* 4), *induscio*, *dispresciare* 6, *malvasciamente*, *malvascitadi* 8, *malvascio* 11, *serviscio* 12, *diliberascione* 23.—Cf. Flor. *rascione* *Crest.*, 20;—Sen. *condan(n)ascione*, *denunziascione*, *rascione*, *serviscio*;<sup>2</sup>—Pis. *prescio*, *rascione* *Crest.*, 167;—Canzon. ital. *prescio*, *rascione*.<sup>3</sup>

(c)  $t(+i) > z(=ts)$  in old Pistojesse; this development takes place principally with the suffix *-itŕa*: *aspreze* (*Al.* 7), *caldeze* 10, *dolceza* 15, *vechieza* 16, *riccheza*, *grandeza* 22, *dimesticheza* 49, *agevileza* 52, *stolteza* 58, *allegreza*, *gentileza* 61, *macteza* 68, *largheza* 69, *forteza* (*Ricc.*, 10), *belleza*, *dispreza* 45; also modern *maza mat(t)ŕa* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. Aret. *vagheza*, *graveza*, *gienteleza*, *belleza*, *richeza* *Crest.*, 174, *allegreza* 175, *altŕa* 180.

(d)  $t(+i) > zz(+i) = tsi$  in modern Pistojesse: *prezzio* (*N.* 205), *ringrazzi* (*Gr. P.* 20), *grazzia*, *disgrazzie*, *ozzio* 21, *pastorizzia*, *vizzi* 22, *nazzioni*, *pazziensa*, *condizione* 21.

#### Variants.

(a)  $t(i) > \check{c}$ : *ispreciando* (*Al.* 22).

(b)  $t(+i) > c(=k)$ : *incumincare* (*Al.* 68).

(c)  $t(+i) > th(p)$ : *grathia* (*Al.* 16), *impathe* 19, *riccetha* 62.

(d)  $t(+i) > sc(sk)$ : *rascone* (*Al.* 64), *indusco* 68, *dispresca* 69, *'nduscare* 70.

(e)  $t(+i) > sg(+i) = \check{z}$ : *rasgione* (*J.* 5).—Cf. Prat. *rasgione* *Crest.*, 95;—Pis. *stasgione* 58;—Aret. *rasgione* 168.

(f)  $t(+i) > ct(+i)$ : *discretione* (*Al.* 4).

#### 2. *t* after a consonant.

(a)  $(s+)t > (s+)ch(=k')$ : *foraschiero* (*C.* 35), *meschieri*, *aschero* (*Gr. P.* 17).

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 157–8.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 561.

<sup>3</sup> *Caix*, *Origini*, 160.

(b)  $(s +)t(+r) > ss$  by assimilation: *nosso, vosso* (*M.* 32), *mossato* (*M.* 32, n.).

(c)  $(c +)t(+\dot{z})$  remains: *indictione* (*Al.* 16), *subiectione* 75, *electione* (*J.* 2), *factione* 6.—Cf. *Luc. exactione B. Luc.*, 18, *detractione* 61;—*Pis. benedictione Crest.*, 166.

(d)  $(n +)t(+\dot{z})$  remains in old Pistoiese: *pronontiare* (*Al.* 13), *dinontiatà* 67, *licentia* (*B.* 77), *conscientia* (*J.* 3), *reverentia* 5, *mentione* 11, *loquentia* (*Ricc.*, 44), *potentia* 30, *presentia* 51, *patientia* (*Ap.* 5), *silentio* 33, *assentio* 35, *mercantie* 75.—Cf. *Luc. licentia B. Luc.*, 9, *credentia*, *dinontiare* 12, *sententia* 13, *mercantia* 16, *stantiato* 19, *antiani* 104, *presentia* 113;—*Pis. presentia Crest.*, 166, *mercantia*; <sup>1</sup>—*Aret. sapientia Crest.*, 175.

(e)  $(n +)t(+\dot{z}) > (n +)th$  (*p*) in old Pistoiese: *anthi* (*Al.* 3), *usanthi*, *sapientha* 11, *prudenthà*, *canoscentha* 47.—Cf. *Luc. dinanthi, innanthi B. Luc.*, 12.

(f)  $(n +)t(+\dot{z}) > (n) + s$ : *Firense* (*Gr. P.* 12), *mancansa* 19, *scensa*, *coscensa* 20, *pazziensa* 21, *indigena* 44, *innansi* 67.—Cf. *Sen. benivolensa, cominsare, Fiorense, dinansi, senza, stansa*; <sup>2</sup>—*Luc. dinansi B. Luc.*, 23, *credensa, dilivansa* 99, *rinonsare* 101;—*Pis. senblansa, doglensa, amansa, pietansa, intensa, disviansa, accordansa, soffrensa, dubitansa, partensa Crest.*, 78, *valensa, fallensa, dottansa, convenensa, tardansa, plagensa* 79;—*Aret. sembiansa* 170, *temensa* 176, *valensa, negrigiensa* 183.

(g)  $(n +)t(+\dot{z}) > (n +)z(+\dot{i})$ : *confidenzie* (*N.* 101), *presenzia* 106, *reverenzie, sentenzia* 124, *avvertenzie* 315.

(h)  $(s +)t(+\dot{z}) > s + ch (= k') + i$ : *beschiaccia* (*C.* 24), *beschia, fracchienere = trattenere* 28, *oschia* (*Gr. P.* 11).

(i)  $s(+t) > ss$  by assimilation.

1. Pret. Ind. 2: *passassi, mangiassi* (*S.* 208), *prestassi, andassi, stassi* (*Gr. P.* 43), *cadessi* (*S.* 207), *cognoscessi* 62, *potessi* 117, *ebbessi* (*C.* 47), *coggiessi* 65, *dissi* 68, *siedessi* 101, *tacessi* 105, *tienessi* 106, *vedessi* 109, *fussi, facessi, dicessi* (*Gr. P.* 33), *sentissi* (*S.* 138), *partissi* 207, *vienissi* (*C.* 110).

<sup>1</sup>A. G., XII, 151.

<sup>2</sup>Zs., IX, 561.

2. Pret. Ind. 5: *andassi* (S. 34), *stessi* (C. 103), *ebbessi* (S. 29), *cognossi* 62, *coggiessi* 64, *volessi* 156, *fussi* (C. 70), *paressi* 86, *potessi* 90, *siedessi* 101, *tacessi* 105, *tienessi* 106, *vedessi* 109, *dicessi* (Gr. P. 33), *sentissi* (S. 138), *vienissi* 155, *partissi* (C. 87).

3. Conditional 2: *anderessi* (S. 34), *ameressi* 173, *saressi* 74, *daressi* (C. 14), *diressi* 32, *averessi* 48, *cogghieressi* 66, *saperessi* (N. 169).

4. Conditional 5: *anderessi* (S. 34), *aressi* 30, *cogghieressi* 66, *dirressi* 68, *saressi* 74.

5. Imp. Subj. 5: *andessi* (S. 34), *aessi* 30, *coggiessi* (C. 65), *dicessi* 68, *fussi* 71, *sapessi* (N. 145), *vienissi* 40.—Cf. Pop. Lat. Pret. 2: *duxissi*;<sup>1</sup>—Sen. Imp. Subj. 5: *aitasse*, *andasse*, *avesse*, *dessi*, *dicesse*, *dovesse*, *facesse*, *persassi*, *pigliasse*, *sapesse*.<sup>2</sup>

#### Variants.

- (a)  $(s +)t$  remains: *fistio*, *stianto*  $\text{äst}[\text{ü}]\text{lä}$  (Gr. P. 11).
- (b)  $(c +)t > ce (= kk)$ : *spacco* (Gr. P. 43).
- (c)  $(l +)t > (l +)g'$ : *volgale* = *voltale* (Al. 13).
- (d)  $(n +)t > (n +)ch (= k')$ : *manchienuta* (M. 12), *volenchieri* (C. 22).—Cf. Flor. *volenchieri* C. Son., 11.
- (e)  $(n +)t > (n +)ct$ : *tancte* (Al. 59).
- (f)  $(c +)t(+i) > zz (= tts) + i$ : *affezionato* (Gr. P. 21).
- (g)  $(l +)t + i > (l +)s$ : *filsa*  $\text{fɪl'stʰä}$  (Gr. P. 21).
- (h)  $(n +)t + i > (n +)c (= k)$ : *fancullo* (Gr. P. 21).
- (i)  $n + t + i > n + ch (= k') + i$ : *denanchi* (Al. 54).
- (j)  $(r +)t(+i)$  remains: *tertio* (Ric., 41).
- (k)  $(r +)t(+i) > (r +)s$ : *forsa* (Gr. P. 24), *smorsata* 43.
- (l)  $(s +)t(+i) > ss$ : *possa*  $\text{pöstěä}$  (Al. 6). This assimilation of the *t* to the *s* is caused by the strong sonorous character of the *s*.

#### 3. *t* before a consonant.

##### Variants.

- (a)  $t('c) > g + i(\check{g})$ : *viagio* (Al. 10).
- (b)  $t(+r) > tt(+r)$ : *tu tettrè* = *tutte e tre* (Gr. P. 24).

<sup>1</sup>Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 145.

<sup>2</sup>Zs., IX, 413.

(c)  $t (+z) > l (+z)$ : *falzoletto* dimin. of German. *fetzen* (*Gr. P.* 10);  $t > z$  by assimilation and then  $z > l$  under influence of the following  $l$ ?

## TT

## § 28. MEDIAL TT.

*Intervocalic tt.*

(a)  $tt > ct (k't)$  in old Pistojesse: *tuctora*, *versecto*, *infra-mectere* (*Al.* 3), *saecte* 5, *tucto* 7, *mecteno* 11, *poghecto* 13, *bactalia* 29, *conbactere* 66, *macteza* 68, *mactina* 71, *lectera* (*Ricc.*, 14).—Cf. *Sen. inpromectere Crest.*, 164;—*Luc. tucto B. Luc.*, 3, *quactro* 22, *saectare* 23, *mectare* 66, *dimactina* 92;—*Pis. tucti Crest.*, 166;—*Aret. tucto* 177.

(b)  $tt > t$ : *quattro* (*Al.* 30), *tuti* 31, *saete* 51, *atesto* (*Gr. P.* 44).

## Variants.

(a)  $tt (+\dot{i}) > cc (=kk)$ : *goccolone* *güttĩă* + (*Gr. P.* 20).

(b)  $t(t) + \dot{i} > z$ : *ammazato* *măt(t)ěă* + (*Gr. P.* 67).

## D

## § 29. INITIAL D.

$d (+\dot{i}) > g$ : *gorno* *dĩurnũm* (*Al.* 22, *Gr. P.* 16).

## § 30. MEDIAL D.

1. *Intervocalic d.*

(a)  $d \text{ — } > dd$ : *sopraddetto* (*B.* 79), *daddio* (*Ap.* 17), *addue* 45, *adduoi* 51, *tuttiddua* (*M.* 4), *verneddi* 17, *contraddanza* (*S.* 154), *addoperà[re]* (*C.* 47), *deddio* (*Gr. P.* 16).—Cf. *Flor. à ddato Crest.*, 25;—*Luc. sodomito*, *rimmeddio*, *imbiddia*, *marteddi*, *gioveddi*, *luneddi*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*A. G.*, XII, 123.

(b)  $d > th$  (ð) in modern Pistoiese: *rithere*, *vithi*, *motho*, *erethe*, *stratho*, *grithð*, (sono) *thebitore*, *uthire*, *methesimo* (secondary *d*), (*si*) *theve*, *siethere*, *cothardo*.

#### Variants.

(a)  $d$  remains: *ched* (è) *quid* (*Al.* 64).—Cf. *Sen. ched*; <sup>1</sup>—*Luc. ched è*; <sup>2</sup>—*Pis. ched ei*.<sup>3</sup>

(b)  $d > l$ : *olorare* = ððëräre + ðlëre (*Al.* 55).<sup>4</sup>—Cf. *Flor. olore Tancia*, 1.

(c)  $d > r$ : *mirolla* *mëdülläm* (*Gr. P.* 11).—Cf. *Sen. mirollo*.<sup>5</sup>

(d)  $d > t$ : *temitoso* (*M.* 88) by assimilation, *mucito* (*Gr. P.* 15), *acito* 23, influenced by *acëto*.—Cf. *Luc. tiebbito*, *friggito*, *sucito*; <sup>2</sup>—*Pis. velocipite*, *ossito*, *liquito*.<sup>6</sup>

(e)  $d > v$ ; that is  $d$  disappears and  $v$  is introduced as a voiced labial glide under the influence of a labial vowel or of  $a$  (?): *avolterio* (*Al.* 22), *chivo* (*M.* 3, n.), *slavigli* (cf. *pavesi*) *Gr. P.* 13.

(f)  $d (+ \dot{i}) > g + i$  ( $\dot{g}$ ): *ogi* (*Al.* 54), *segirole*.—Cf. *Sen. ogi Crest.*, 162.

(g)  $d (+ \dot{i}) > gh$ : *poghecto* *pöðřüm* + (*Al.* 12), *seghe* (*Ap.* 75).

(h)  $d + \dot{i} > ggh$ : *creggiate* (*M.* 3).

(i)  $d (+ \dot{i}) > gl + i$  ( $l'$ ): *noglia* = *noja*, *gioglia* (*M.* 11).

(j)  $d (+ \dot{i}) > gn + i$  ( $n'$ ): *vergognia* (*Gr. P.* 20).

(k)  $d (+ \dot{i}) > \dot{z}$ : *mezane* (*Al.* 13), *mezo* (*Gr. P.* 22).—Cf. *Luc. mezo B. Luc.*, 21.

#### 2. $d$ before a consonant.

$d$  (secondary) +  $r > th + r$  (ðr): *pathre*, *mathre*, *lathro*.

#### Variants.

(a)  $d (+ v)$  remains in the learned word *adversitade* (*Al.* 19).

(b)  $d (+ j) > gl$  (=  $l'$ ) +  $i$ : *agliutare* (*Gr. P.* 44).

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 561.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 123.

<sup>3</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 152.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Indo-German. Gram.*, I, § 369.

<sup>5</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 562.

<sup>6</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 151.

(c)  $d(+r) > t(+r)$ : *itropico* Grk. ὑδρωχ (*M.* 8), *ritropisia* (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. Luc. *ritropico*; <sup>1</sup>—Pis. *ritropico*.<sup>2</sup>

(d)  $d(+t) > c(+t)$ : *macto* mǎdītūm (*Al.* 4).

### § 31. FINAL D.

$d > t$ : *at* = *ad* (*Al.* 21).

Apheresis.

(*pagl'*) *'i* = *di* (*M.* 25), (*spin'*) *orsale* (*Gr. P.* 14).

Prosthesis.

*deccogghi* = *eccogli* (*C.* 9), (*una*) *distanza* = *istanza* (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. Pis. *dèccomi* *C. Son.*, 51.

Syncope.

The *d* of the prefix *-ad* is frequently syncopated before consonants in old Pistoiese; perhaps, however, the process is that of reduction, that is the *d* is first assimilated to the following consonant, and then the double consonant is reduced to a single consonant.

1. Before a labial consonant: *afermi* (*Al.* 6), *amaestramento* 9, *avenire* 12, *abisognano* 14, *afigeno* 19, *afatiamento* 31, *amoni-tione* (*J.* 15), and in the modern language *aversieri* (*M.* 50), *afanni* (*Gr. P.* 22).

2. Before other consonants: *acompannerà* (*Al.* 11), *aguagli* 38, *asai*, *asoctiliare* 16, *alora* 19, *asoctiliamente* 31.—Cf. Sen. *acomandare* *Crest.*, 82, *asai* 163.

Epenthesis.

After *n* the voiced dental glide *d* is introduced: *cendere* (*Gr. P.* 11), *cenderone* 12; perhaps the *d* of *inde* (?) is preserved in *in-d-un* = *in uno* (*S.* 24), *'ndel* (*Gr. P.* 40), and *ndella* 67.—Cf. Luc. *chende*, *sinde*,<sup>3</sup> *ind ello*, *ind uno*; <sup>4</sup>—Pis.

<sup>1</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 123.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 166.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 120.

*ind uno, ind ello, cendere, tendero*; <sup>1</sup>—Canzon. ital. where the *d* is evidently from inde: *vonde* = *vonne, fande, nd 'agio, kende* = *che ne, co 'nde, minde*, also *nond'* ð, the *d* of which is epenthetical; <sup>2</sup>—French *cendre*.

## DD

## § 32. MEDIAL DD.

*Intervocalic dd.*

*dd* (secondary) > *d*: *freddo* (*M.* 41).

## TH

## § 33. MEDIAL TH.

1. *Intervocalic th.*

Variants.

- (a) *th* remains: *matheo* (*Al.* 53), *timotheo* 73.
- (b) *th* > *d*: *grysolido* *chrysolithum* (*Ap.* 92).
- (c) *th* > *z* (probably pronounced *th* = ð): <sup>3</sup> *cazolica* (*Al.* 66).

2. *th* before a consonant.

*th* (+ *n*) > *mm* by assimilation: *arimmetica* (*Gr. P.* 20).

## C. SIBILANTS.

## S

## § 34. INITIAL S.

Variants.

- (a) *s* > *c'*: *ciucciano* *sūctiāre* (*Gr. P.* 36) by assimilation.
- (b) *s* > *sc* + *i* (š): *scialiva* (*C.* 23).

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Uso*, 206.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *anthi* = *anzi*, *prodentha* = *prodenza*, *sapientha* = *sapienza*, etc. § 27, 2. (e).

(c)  $s > z(\text{ş})$ : *zole* (*M.* 6), *zinfonia* (*Gr. P.* 11).—Cf. Sen. which changes  $s$  into  $z(\text{ş})$  after  $l, m, n, r$ : *il zole*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

### § 35. MEDIAL $s$ .

#### 1. Intervocalic $s$ .

(a)  $s > \text{ş}$ : *coşa, caşa*.

(b)  $s \rightarrow ss$  in old Pistoiese after *si, di, à, che, e, ma, tu*: (*si*) *ssi* (*Al.* 21), (*di*) *sse* 53, (*a*) *ssofferirlla* 60, *chessono, essignificò, essignioria* (*Ap.* 3), *chessi* 7, *masse, massono, chessiate* 9, *essaperanno* 15, *tusse* 17, *assedere, essopra* 19, *esservono, essalè* 33, *chessole* 41, *assonare* 43, *chessia* 45, *essarà* 59, *essigniore* 73, *essolevo, chessuonano* 79, *assantà* 95. The gemination of  $s$  takes place rarely in the modern language: in *assaltare* and *asserito* (*M.* 48, n.) the  $s < ks$  is doubled after the pretonic  $e$  has become  $a$ ; *sessia* (*Gr. P.* 67). I have noted only one example of  $s > ss$  after the accent: *risposse* (*Gr. P.* 22) by analogy with *scrissi, vissi*.—Cf. Flor. (*da*) *Ssomaja Crest.*, 20, (*la*) *ssua*, (*da*) *Ssan* 21, (*di*) *ssopra* 23, (*ke*) *ssono* 24, (*ke*) *ssodammo* 25;—Luc. *usso, ussare, visso, vissitare, rossa, chiessa, musso, sposso, spossare, Luchessi*, etc.;<sup>2</sup>—Pis. “*S mediano fra vocali, quando è sonoro, si raddoppia di regola nel pisano antico. L'espressione grafica ne è z ò ss; e son superflui gli esempj;*”<sup>3</sup>—Aret. (*e*) *sse Crest.*, 175, (*e*) *ssollicito* 176, (*e*) *ssaggia, (che) sson, (che) ssiamo* 179.

(c)  $s (+ i) > sc (= sk)$ : *cascone* (*Al.* 64), *basco bāsīūm* 74, *buscardo* O. H. G. *bōsi + (?) 43, malvasco* 69.

#### Variants.

(a)  $s > z$ : *ritropizia* (*Gr. P.* 44).

(b)  $s (+ i) > \text{ş} (+ i)$ : *malvaşio* (*Al.* 11), *Aşio* 51.

(c)  $s (+ i) > c (= k)$ : *caco cāsēūm* (*Gr. P.* 21) by assimilation, *chamica* 20.

(d)  $s (+ i) > g$ : *cagonate* (*Gr. P.* 21).

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 560.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.



(e)  $s + \dot{i} > c + i (\dot{s})$ : *camicia*.

(f)  $s + \dot{i} > sc + i (\dot{s})$ : *chascione* (*Al.* 3).—Cf. *Prat. cas-cione Crest.*, 95;—*Sen. cascione, diviscione*.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. *s* after a consonant.

( $n +$ )  $s > (n +) z$ : *smenza* = *immensa* (*C.* 24), *'nzomma* 17, *ricompensa* (*Gr. P.* 20), *acchonzente* 46.

## Variants.

(a) ( $n +$ )  $s > (n +) c' (\dot{c})$ : *sanci* (*M.* 77).

(b)  $p + s > p + ss$ : *scripssi* (*Al.* 29).

(c) ( $r +$ )  $s > 1. (r +) c' (\dot{c})$ : *verciar* (*M.* 83); 2. ( $r +$ )  $z$ : *horze* = *corse*.

(d) ( $n +$ )  $s (+ \dot{i}) > 1. g$ : *prigone* (*Gr. P.* 21); 2.  $sc + i (\dot{s})$ : *priscione* (*Al.* 10); 3.  $sg + i (\dot{z})$ : *prisgione* (*J.* 2); 4. ( $n +$ )  $z (+ i)$ : *protenzione, protenzionoso* (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. *Sen. piscione; pisgione, presgione*.<sup>2</sup>

## Apheresis.

*capata* (*M.* 94).

## Prosthesis.

1. Before a labial cons.: *sbasì* (*M.* 45), *sbeffare, sposare* = *posare* 45, n., *sfusciarre* 93, *sviolturi* 95, *sbrendoloni* (*C.* 10), *sfiamicante* 11, *spolverino* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Before a guttural: *scataverno* (*M.* 43), *scampare* 45, n.

## Syncope.

1. Intervocalic *s*: *ventiei* (*Ricc.*, 23).

2. Before *c*: *dicendiamo* (*Al.* 51).

## Metathesis.

*amestico amethystum* (*Ap.* 93), *strapoeto* (*Gr. P.* 12), *sbi-lungo* = *bislungo* 23.

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 559.

<sup>2</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 139.

## SS

## § 36. MEDIAL SS.

*Intervocalic ss.*

*ss* > *s*: *discorresi* (Al. 4), *promeso* 24, *prosim*a (secondary *ss*) 44, *sonase* (Ric., 7), *dovese* 8, *neciesaria* (Gr. P. 21), *posiede* 67.

## Variants.

- (a) *ss* > *sc* + *i* (*š*): *fracascio* (C. 29).  
 (b) *ss* > *zz*: *spazzaa* (C. 14).

## Z

## § 37. INITIAL Z.

*z* > *r*: *razzamaglia* (M. 11) by dissimilation.

## § 38. MEDIAL Z.

1. *Intervocalic z.*

*z* (+ *î*) > *t* (+ *i*): *topatio* *töpāzĩũm* (Ap. 93).

2. *z after a consonant.*

(cons. +) *z* > (cons. +) *s*: *falsoletto* (Gr. P. 10), *scersi* 67.

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## LIQUIDS.

## L

## § 39. INITIAL L.

1. *Simple initial.*

$l' > n'$ : *gnin* = *gliene* (*M.* 38).

2. *Initial group.*

(a) (lab. +)  $l >$  (lab. +)  $r$ :<sup>1</sup> *frussione* (*Gr. P.* 13), *prurale* 22 by assimilation, *bramerebbe* (*C.* 33), *fragello* 34, *sprendore*, *sprendido*.

(b) (gutt. +)  $l >$  (gutt. +)  $r$ : *groria* (*Al.* 50) and *grorificano* 61 by assimilation, *Crolinda* (*S.* 125), *Crasio*, *grobo* (*Gr. P.* 13), *serama* (*C.* 9).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *fragellum*, *fros*, *fructuantes*, *gracies*;<sup>2</sup>—Flor. *sprendore Tancia*, 885, *seruso Lam. di Cec.*, 36, *sprende C. Son.*, 65, *Crotirde* 97;—Sen. *cremenzia*, *sprendido*, *sprendore*,<sup>3</sup> *fremma C. Son.*, 1, *fragello* 55;—Pis. *Frora C. Son.*, 87;—Canzon. ital. *sprendore*, *-sprende*, *bronda*, *craro*, *pruzora*, *prasire*, *brasmare*, *frore*.<sup>4</sup>

## § 40. MEDIAL L.

1. *Intervocalic l.*

(a) *l* remains: *alegreza* (*Al.* 21), *mandàlo* 29, *ralegratevi* (*Ap.* 79), *olocco ăldœum* (*Gr. P.* 15).

(b)  $l > ll$ : *istabile* (*Al.* 6), *parole* 9, *malli* 11, *dillegente* 13, *periccollo* 43, *vigillie* (*J.* 4), *alexandro* (*Ricc.*, 24) *bavulli* = *bag + ulum* (*Gr. P.* 43), *collica* Grk. *κωλική* 44, also *fre-*

<sup>1</sup> Words borrowed from the Latin change in the old language their *l* into *r*. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 423.

<sup>2</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 138–9.

<sup>3</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 551–2.

<sup>4</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 139.

quently in Ap. before the article and personal pronoun after such monosyllables as *a, da, ma, e, che, chi*: *allui* 5, *dalloro* 37, *malla* 95, *ello* 5, *ella, elli* 7, *chella, chelli* 71, *chelle* 89, *chillo* 11; also before nouns: *allaudatia* 5, *allangelo* 7, *ellingue* 59, *chellione* 41; *sella* = *se* + *la* (*B.* 79), *allui* (*Ricc.*, 13), *ellui* (*Gr. P.* 41).—Cf. *Flor. ke lle Crest.*, 22;—*Prat. di llui* 94, *co llui* 95;—*Sen. cho loro* 118, *a llui* 163;—*Pis. da llei* 58, *a llei* 79;—*Aret. a llui* 170, *no lli* 176, *e llaida, e lloco, se llui* 177, *e loro* 178, *e llargo* 179.

(c) *l* > *r* is a strong Pistojesse characteristic and is in constant use at San Marcello: *pungoro* (*Al.* 73), *miscorino* (*J.* 4), *pistorese* (*Ricc.*, 14), *piura* (*M.* 44), *furigelli* 47 by dissimilation, *buricò* 54, *vor* (*S.* 152), *var'* 172, *pillore* (*Gr. P.* 17) by dissimilation; the suffix -*ölüm* or -*ülüm* > -*uro* in *Mea: brus-curo* 3, *nocciur* 4, *bricciurin*, *pisuro* 7, *lucciuro* 9, *spazzure*, *brendur* 11, *roturo* 25, *sdrucciuro* 29, *scarabatturi*, *notturi*, *mesture*, *penture* 31, *picciuro*, *mugura* 34, *cioture* 37, *gócciuiron*, *spenzura* 38, *appisuro* 40, *nocciuro*, *tomburon* 41, *trottura*, *fig-nuro*, *mignuro* 42, *spiguro*, *entragnuri* 43, *broccuri*, *moccuri* 53, *ballodure* 55, *ventricuro* 56, *rivendugliuro* 63, *riboburo*, *frugiuron* 66, *svocciura* 76, *briciuro* 81, *rossignuri* 81.—Cf. *Luc. pentora, bamboro, bellicoro, gallettoro*, etc.;<sup>1</sup>—*Pis. am-buro, aminduro, Pecciori, Montetoperi*.<sup>2</sup>

(d) *l* + *ɨ* is written in the older language *li, lli, gl* (= *l'*), *lgl* (= *l'*), *i*.

1. *li*:<sup>3</sup> *filiuolo* (*Al.* 3), *melio* 5, *consilio, consilieri* 10, *cilia* 13, *asociliari* 16, *similianza* 19, *chonsiliare* 21, *meraviliare* 22, *molie* 23, *batalia* 64, *filiola* (*B.* 80), *vermilio* (*J.* 24).

2. *lli*:<sup>3</sup> *filliuolo* (*Al.* 3), *mellio, isvellia* 7, *argollio, selli* = *se* + *egli* 8, *consillio* 10, *similliantemente* 14, *bactallia* 28, *agual-liare* 59, *vermillio* (*J.* 24). This *lli* was not pronounced as *l'* as is proved by the modern pronunciation in the Pistojesse mountains: *travalli* (*Gr. P.* 22), *fillio* 67, etc.

<sup>1</sup>*A. G.*, XII, 117.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>3</sup>The writing *li* or *lli* prevails in MSS. of the middle of the XIII century. Cf. *Caix, Origini*, 137.

3. *gl*(= *l'*): *mogle* (B. 77), *glavesse*, *glaltri* 81, *meglo* 83, *fogla*, *paglaio* (Gr. P. 21), *travaglo*, *glomini* 22.

4. *lgl*(= *l'*): *volglendo* (B. 77), *melglo*, *volglo*, *valglano* 82, *filgluoli* (MS. 283).<sup>1</sup>

5. *i*: *mei'* *mēlřūs* (Al. 27).

The modern language has also *ll*, *gli*, *j*, *jj*.

6. *ll*: *pallaraccio* *pălěă* + *ērīcřūs* (Gr. P. 16).

7. *gli*: *oglio* (Gr. P. 43) by the side of the learned *olio*.

8. *j*: *tajare*, *pijare* (Gr. P. 49).

9. *jj*: *mejjo* *mēlřūs* (Gr. P. 39).—Cf. Sen. *ll*, *l* for *l'*:<sup>2</sup> *filiuoli* Crest., 39, *molie* *mălřēr* 40; *lulglo* 37, (e) *lgli*, *algli*, *dolgio*, *solgio*, *volgio* 81–2, *melgio* 163, *hulglio* 165;—Luc. *tavolieri* B. Luc., 29, *filiuolo* 46, *taliare* 51; *ricolliera* 11, *similliante* 18, *familliale* 19, *filliuolo* 23, *pilliare*, *vallia* 29, *famillia* 40, *alli* = *agli* 48, *Lullio* 58, *ollio* 91, *pilliamento* 100;—Pis. *filio* Crest., 166, *piliare* 167; *mellio* 79; *solgio* 58, *melgio*, *dolgio* 59, *dolgliensa* 78;—Aret. *follia* Crest., 168, *tolliate* 176; *volgia*, *dolgia* 168, *orgolgia*, *acolgia*, *tolgia*, *folgia* 169, *solgio* 172, *figli* 182;—Canzon. ital. *de li*: *vollio*, *dollienza*, *milliore*, *meravillia*, *kellie*; *meglo*, *voglo*, *spogla*, *vagla*, *dogla*; *megliore*, *melgio*, *volgio*, *maraviglia*, *spolgia*, *valgia*, *dolgia*;<sup>3</sup>—Sicil. *meglu*, *figlu*, *consigliu*, *spogla*, *famigla*, *olglu*.<sup>4</sup>

(e) *l* + *i* > *j* > *gghi*.<sup>5</sup> For the *j* stage cf. above, § 40, (d) 8 *tajare*, *pijare* (Gr. P. 49). *gghi* is a modern Pistojesse development: *ammogghiato* (S. 23), *cigghio* 5, *'ogghio* 7, *gghi* = *egli* 11, *quegghi* 25, *pagghia*, *giunchigghia* 29, *figghiolo* 43, *pigghiare* 45, *fogghio* 94, *mogghie* 110, *figghia* 148, *cordogghio* 151, *svegghiava* 158, *magghioli* 177, *mantigghia* 195, *cogghi* 200, *metragghie* 212, *figghio* 245, *sbaigghiare* 131, *tagghi* 166, *cavagghieri* (S. and C. 6), *egghino*, *pigghia*, *megghio* (C. 8), *degghi*, *deccogghi* = *ecco* + *gli* 9, *consigghio* 11, *agghi* 13,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. VIII, No. 4, cols. 219–12, where I have published MS. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 553.

<sup>3</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 137.

<sup>4</sup> *Schneegans, Sicil. Dial.*, 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Caix* gives this development. Cf. *Dial. d'Ital.*, 133, 210.

*dagghi* 14, *fogghe* 29, *spogghiassi* 18, *sbadigghio* 32, *bat-tagghia* 35, *botigghia* 36, *fogghiolino* 38, *vigghiaccone* 39, *negghi* 41, *cogghie* 65, *toagghia* þwahlja (*Gr. P.* 48).—Cf. *Flor. chegghi*, *foggghio*, *'ogghi*, *egghi*,<sup>1</sup> *gghi*, (*occhi*), *egghino*, *megghio*,<sup>2</sup> *scegghi*, *cogghi*;<sup>3</sup>—*Luc. pagghia*.<sup>4</sup>  $l + \dot{x} > j > gghi$  is also met with in many southern dialects and is general in Sicilian;<sup>5</sup> *Sicil. pigghiu*, *megghiu*, *figghiu*, *pigghia*, *risvigghiu*, *gigghia*, *cogghi*.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. *l* after a consonant.

### (a) $l > r$ .

1. (Lab.) +  $l > (\text{lab.} +) r$ : *risprende* (*Al.* 5), *asempri* 9, *moltipricherano*, *ubriaza* 65, *obriare* 68, *risprendiente* (*Ap.* 81), *contempre* (*Cino*, 12), *apprica* (*M.* 6), *pubblicazioni* 72, *sem-price* 3, n., *ampro* 20, *pubrico* 74, *reprice* (*C.* 9), *comprimenti* 19, *ubbrigato* 28, *arreplica* 29, *repubrica* (*Gr. P.* 15), *espricà*, *affritto* 48.

2. (Gutt.) +  $l > (\text{gutt.} +) r$ : *negrigenza* (*M.* 3, n.), *concrusione* (*S.* 153), *concruda* (*C.* 44), *incrinazione* (*Gr. P.* 16), *'nerinato* 24.—Cf. *Flor. obbligato Tancia*, 933, *concrusion* 896, *incrinazione* 949, *rifressione C. Son.*, 28, *compricato* 40, *infruenze* 49, *affrizione* 77, *concrude* 92;—*Sen. affriggiare*, *affrizione*, *affritto*, *ampro*, *asempro*, *compressione*, *contempra-zione*, *discripina*, *ob(b)rigare*, *reprice*, *sémprice*, *rispréndare*, *supricare*, *pubrico*, *ripubrica*; *concrudano*, *negrigenza*;<sup>7</sup>—*Pis. comprimento C. Son.*, 49;—*Canzon. ital. afritto*, *obria*, *obrianza*, *exempro*, *dobbra*; *nigrigenza*;<sup>8</sup>—*Pad. pubrico*;<sup>9</sup>—*Guittone* has many examples of this  $l > r$ .<sup>10</sup>

(b)  $(r +)l > (r +)ll$  is a special old Pistojesse characteristic. The *l* is doubled in order to give a stronger pronunciation to the *r*: *disporllo*, *schiararllo* (*Al.* 3), *dirllo* 6, *parlla* 9, *parllare*

<sup>1</sup> *Uso*, 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Caix* gives this development. Cf. *Dial. d' Ital.*, 133, 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Schneegans, Sicil. Dial.*, 134–5.

<sup>5</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 552–3.

<sup>6</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 139.

<sup>7</sup> *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 133.

<sup>8</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 116.

<sup>9</sup> *Wendriner, Pad. Mund.*, 28.

<sup>10</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 141.

11, *ritenerllo*, *mutarllo* 32, *esaminarllo* 42, *compierlla* 44, *farllo* 45, *ssofferirllo* 60, *regharlli* 61, *usarllo* 63, *corromperlla*, *carllo* 66, *pregarlli* 70, *perderlla*, *rinovarlla* 72, *nerlli* (*Ricc.*, 16).—Cf. Prov. *parllam* Bartsch, *Chrest. Prov.*, 1, *parllar* 554.

(c)  $r + l' > gghi$ <sup>1</sup> in modern Pistoiese. This phenomenon takes place only when the personal pronoun *gli* is joined to the infinitive: *arrispondegghi* (*C.* 8), *mangiagghi* 14, *auzzagghi* 19, *cucinagghi* 20, *fagghi* 22, *toccagghi* 23, *badagghi* 28, *portagghi* 30, *dimandagghiolo* 33, *raccontagghiolo* 42, *leagghi* = *levargli*, *regalagghi* 43.

### 3. *l* before a consonant.

(a)  $l + \text{cons.} > i + \text{double cons.}$  only in the modern language. By the law of least action the friction is taken off the point *l* so that an *i* is developed, and then the following consonant is doubled by compensatory lengthening: *coippo*, *caiddo*, *gaiccina*, *aittro* (*S.* 11), *aitto* 39, *soiddato* 140, *aittura*, *aittrettanto* (*C.* 49), *caizza*, *caizzoni* 60, *goippe* = *volpe* 75, *soiddo* 101, *Poiddo* (*Gr. P.* 46), *faccoittà*, *quaiccuno*, *voitto*.—Cf. Flor. *aimmeno* *C. Son.*, 67, *faccoittà*, *quaiccuna*, *saitta*, *aibbusillis*, *aittro*, *voissucho*, *'oitte* = *volte*, *aivvostro*; <sup>2</sup> the favorite Florentine development, however, is the assimilation of the *l* to the following consonant without developing an *i*: *lorattri* *C. Son.*, 11, *icchè* 14, *soddi* 16, *attrimenti* 17, *attro* 18, *soddino* 68; also where the *i* is swallowed up in the *i* of the article: *iffatto* = *il fatto*, *iggrillo*, *diccanto*, *ippresente*, *ittempo*, *ivvostro*, *ipprimo*, etc.; <sup>3</sup>—Sen. *Vaiddarbia*,<sup>4</sup> *taicche* *C. Son.*, 7, *aimmanco*, *aizzano* 89.

(b)  $l(+\text{cons.}) > n(+\text{cons.})$ : *'ntandì* = *un + tal + dì* (*M.* 44) by assimilation; *antro* (*C.* 52), *antre* (*M.* 10), *voantre* 97, *noantri* and *lorantri* (*S.* 118) get their *n* from the indefinite article; *ancipresso* (*Uso*, 52).—Cf. Flor. *maninconoso Tancia*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Intervocalic  $l' > gghi$ , § 40, (e).      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 208 foll.

<sup>2</sup> *Uso*, 206 foll.

<sup>4</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 551.

946, *antro*;—Sen. *apostono*, *cononello*;<sup>1</sup>—Pis. *antro* C. Son., 20;—Tuscan *antro*.<sup>2</sup>

(c) *l*(+ cons.) > *r*(+ cons.) is a strong Pistojesse characteristic.

1. By assimilation: *vortare* (S. 22), *varzere* 154, *Sorferino* 209, *Garibardi* 228, *artri*, *bardoria*, *stravorto*, *seportura* (C. 8), *ortre* 21, *isvorgere* 42, *agricortura* (Gr. P. 22), *artrimente*, *artare*, *Sarvatore*, *Crotirde*.

2. By dissimilation: *svortoloni* (S. 114), *curtello* (S. and C. 19), *tarquala* = *talquale* (C. 11), *svortala* 13, *curtelluccio* 15.

3. Other cases are: *morta* (S. 71), *vorto* 151, *carze* 154, *quarcheduno*, *sordati* 158, *sordo* 172, *'nnarzata* 210, *corpo* 225, *carzò* = *calzone*, *barcò* (S. and C. 4), *torto* 5, *marfattore* 7, *Arpe* (N.-N. 4), *vorte*, *cuarc'* = *qualche* (C. 8), *parmo* 9, *arto* = *alto*, *gorpe* = *volpe*, *sortanto* 10, *vòrs'* 11, *sarva*, *arza* 13, *iscerta* = *scelta*, *finarmente*, *dimorti* 17, *cardo* 18, *quarcun* 19, *sciorto*, *corpa*, *sarta* 21, *ascorto* 23, *sartabecca* 29, *cuarcosa* = *qualcosa* 32, *sarvâtia* 35, *tarpe* (Gr. P. 15), *corto* 36, *urtimo*, *furmine*, *pormone*, *farso*, *Rinardo*, *marvagio*, *civirtà*, *civirmente*, *facirmente*, *inutirmente*, *nobirmente*, *sarvamente*, *speciarmente*, *er*, *ar*, *der*, *dar*, *ner*, *cor*, *sur*, etc. In the older language there is one example: *cavarcione* (I. P. 8).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *arvo*, *arta*, *Arbuciano*, *murtiperas*, *farsa*, *carcedonius*;<sup>3</sup>—Flor. *quarche* C. Son., 10, *dimorto* 11, *tarquale* 12, *'orta* = *volta*, *mar* (*dì*) 13, *civirtà* 26, *purce* 31, *nobirmente* 44, *speciarmente* 54, *urtimo* 57, *sortanto* 59, *sordati*, *carzone* 61, *sordo* 62, *convursioni* 77, *sarvare*, *artare* 94, *pormone* 95, *Crotirde* 97;—Sen. *archimía*, *artro*, *carsolaro* (*calsolajo*), *er*, *ar*, *cor*, *der*, *ner*, etc., *finarmente*, *insurtare*, *morto* (*multum*), *pontuarmente*, *quarcuno*, *sarvamente*, *sordo*, *tarquale*, *vorta*,<sup>4</sup> *artronde* C. Son., 3, *sortanto* 14, *arto* 16, *sartato* 21, *furmine* 27, *quarche* 32, (*dar*) *petto* 34, *Leopordo* 43, *ascorta* 46, *sarve*, *Sarvatore* 49, *cardo* 51, *arcuna* 58, *Rinardo* 60, *'nutirmente* 88, *mercordì*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 552.

<sup>2</sup> Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 116.

<sup>3</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 138-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 551-2.



91, *purci, pormoni* 104, *urtimo* 109;—Luc. “Oggi, nel contado, *l* che preceda a consonante vien di regola a *r*: *antro, cardo, sordo, dorco* e *dorcē, farce sarcio tarpa corpo arba parmo borso* ecc. I documenti non offrono di questo fatto se non esempj sporadici: nessuno in bdl., se ho ben veduto; *marvagio* pod. 35, *fraterto* fraterl tuo 48, *parmo* inv. 85, *farsa* 90;”<sup>1</sup>—Pis. *carzolajo* *Racc.*, 279, *er* (*coco*) 281, *sarto, morto* 290; “Preso la plebe della città e nel contado, *l* seguito da consonante vien di regola a *r*. \* \* \* Nei documenti, è fenomeno sporadico: *arbagio, sarvamento, carvellino, Erba, farda*,<sup>2</sup> *er* (*convurso*) *C. Son.*, 5, *quarche, der* (*tempo*), *facirmente, sur* (*serio*) 6, *ar* (*timone*) 10, *vorte* 11, *artronde* 14, *armeno* 18, *artro* 22, *artare* 23, *sarta* 24, *sortanto, pormone* 41, *farso* 45, *artero* 49, *Purcinello* 50, *Rinardo, sartimbanchi* 58, *virmente* 79, *Frora* 87;—Pad. *cortello, Marchioro*.<sup>3</sup>

#### Variant.

*l* (+ *t*) > *ll* (+ *t*) only in *coltello* (*Al.* 67).

#### Apheresis.

Initial *l* is sometimes suppressed by the people, believing it to be the *l* of the article: *usinghe, usinghevoli* (*Al.* 40), *abis läpīs, acero* (*Gr. P.* 11), *ago* 15, *astrico, aberinto, orologio*.—Cf. Sen. *le tanie* = *le litanie, attone, ordura*; <sup>4</sup>—Luc. *tanie, ombrico, astraco, abberinto, ago, abbro, upo*; <sup>5</sup>—Tuscan *astraco, aberinto, ombrico, orbaco, orologio*; <sup>6</sup>—Mil. *apis, astreg* = *lastrico, ares, üsèll* (*lucello- o luxello-?*), *ornètt, ütomia*.<sup>7</sup>

#### Prosthesis.

*l* of the article: *lusanza* (*Al.* 6), *lellora hëdërä* (*Gr. P.* 13), *lavarò* 16, *letichetta* 17, *listesso* (*C.* 80), *listessamente*.—Cf. Sen. *lampolla, lape* (= *api*; <sup>4</sup>—Luc. *lamo, lellora, lapa* (= *ape*), *londa*,

<sup>1</sup> Pieri, *A. G.*, XII, 118.

<sup>5</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>6</sup> Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 28–9.

<sup>7</sup> Salvioni, *Dial. Mod.*, 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 551–2.

*lacciûa* = *acciuga*; <sup>1</sup>—Pis. *listesso*, *lusuraio*, *litterizia*, *lamo*, *lellerà*, *lacca* = *anca*, <sup>2</sup>*listessa*, *listessamente*; <sup>3</sup>—Mil. *lecco*, *lovalta*, *loto* = *lottone*, *lùsüria*.<sup>4</sup>

### Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic *l* is syncopated only in the older language: <sup>5</sup>*tai* (*Al.* 10), *chotai* 23, *mai* 25, *quai* 71, *fedei* (*Cino*, 240).

(b) *l* after a cons.: *sempice* (*Al.* 6), *singozzo* *sīnglüttüs* (*Gr. P.* 14).

(c) *l* before a cons.: *idio* (*Al.* 43), *abergare*, *mafattore* (*M.* 4, n.), *utimar* 85, *puce*, *pucino* (*Uso*, 777), *utimo*.—Cf. *Flor. mortai Intell.*, 20, *crudei* 13, *utimo C. Son.*, 95;—*Sen. bestiai*, *cardenai*, *carmai*, *mai*, *rivai*, *cache* (= *qualche*), *mafattore*, *utimo*; <sup>6</sup>—Pis. *utima C. Son.*, 69;—*Canzon. ital. mai*, *leai*, *augei*.<sup>7</sup>

### Metathesis.

Reciprocal metathesis of *l* and *r*: *palora* (*S.* 153), *Crolindo* 186, *grolia*, *grolioso*, *balire*.—Cf. *Flor. palore Tancia*, 893, *grolioso* 946;—*Sen. grolia*, *grolioso*.<sup>8</sup>

## LL

### § 41. MEDIAL LL.

#### *Intervocalic ll.*

*ll* > *l*: *alegare* (*Al.* 15), *quelo* 22, *metalo* (*Ap.* 77), *aluminerà* 95, *chastelo* (*Ricc.*, 34).

#### Variants.

(a) *ll* remains: *tollere* (*J.* 9), *gillia* *ărgîllă* (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. *Canzon. ital. tollere*.<sup>9</sup>

(b) *ll* > *l'*: *canceglieri* (*Gr. P.* 10), *cavaglieri* (*N.* 90).

<sup>1</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Uso*, 532–3.

<sup>2</sup> *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 108.

<sup>4</sup> *Salvioni, Dial. Mod.*, 176.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *A. G.*, IX, 98–9; *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.

<sup>6</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 552.

<sup>8</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 554.

<sup>7</sup> *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 136.

<sup>9</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 138.

## R

## § 42. INITIAL R.

## Variants.

- (a)  $r > d$ : *disipola* *erysipelas* (*Gr. P.* 13).  
 (b)  $r > l$ : *leppicar* = *replicare* (*M.* 3).—Cf. *Flor. liverenza Lam. di Cec.*, 33;—*Sen. lobrica (rubrica), lóveri (robur)*.<sup>1</sup>

## § 43. MEDIAL R.

*Intervocalic r.*

(a)  $r > rr$ : *errano* (*Ap.* 5), *scriverrò* 17, *entrerrò* 19, *erragunatevi* 83, *arredi* = *erédi* (*M.* 48), *dirrà* (*S.* 20), *temperrino* (*Gr. P.* 22), *barrile* 23, *miserria* 44, *forro* 47.—Cf. *Flor. a rrascione Crest.*, 19, *perrispese* 26;—*Pis. dirrà* 23;—*Sen. amerrò, temerrò, sentirrò, entrarrà*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

(b)  $r > l$ : *volgale* (*Al.* 53) and *famigliali* (*J.* 11) by assimilation, *dilettrice* (*Gr. P.* 10) and *tortale* *türtürēm* 15 by dissimilation, *isvaliato* (*Al.* 54), *cilimoniere* (*M.* 75), *valicosa* (*Gr. P.* 25), *galantisco* 34.—Cf. *Flor. cilimonie Tancia*, 899;—*Sen. célabro, maliscalco*; <sup>3</sup>—*Luc. Quilico*; <sup>4</sup>—*Pis. Quilico, Catalina, ingiulia*.<sup>5</sup>

## Variants.

- (a)  $r$  remains: *parochia* (*Gr. P.* 44).  
 (b)  $r > d$ : *contradio* (*Al.* 15).—Cf. *Flor. contradio Tancia*, 885;—*Aret. contradio Crest.*, 178.  
 (c)  $r > tt$ : *otta, allotta* (*C.* 11).<sup>6</sup>—Cf. *Flor. otta Nencia*, 1.  
 (d)  $r + i > l'$ : *gennaglio* (*M.* 8), etc. Cf. § 1, (a) 6.

2.  $r$  after a consonant.

## Variants.

- (a)  $(n +) r > (n +) rr$ : *conrrrompe* (*Al.* 57).  
 (b)  $(p +) r > (p +) l$ : *emplici* (*Gr. P.* 17).

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 553.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.<sup>5</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 118.<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Grundriss*, I, 535, § 89.

3. *r* before a consonant.

(a)  $r(+\text{cons.}) > l(+\text{cons.})$ : *volgalmente* (Al. 58) by assimilation, *albitrio* (J. 11, n.) by dissimilation, *saldine* (Gr. P. 10), *falsa färsä* 15, *appaltamento* 16, *polche* 17, *alteria* 25.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *alteriae*, *Foltunatae*, *felvente*.<sup>1</sup>—The phenomenon  $r(+\text{cons.}) > l(+\text{cons.})$ , which is rare in Pistoiese, Lucchese, and Florentine, is of frequent occurrence in Senese, and is the rule in Pisano.—Sen. *alchetto*, *alco*, *Beltrando*, *riselviare*, *albitro*, *álboro*,<sup>2</sup> *bilialdo*, *paltire* C. Son., 85, *ritolno*, *Livolno*, *giolno*, *impolta*, 86;—Pis. “Presso la plebe della città e in parte del contado, *r* seguito da consonante oggi vien di regola a *l*: *calta*, *polta*, *porta*, *peldere*, *spldo*, *sordo*, *polco*, *melcato* e *melce*, *spalgere*, *corpo* *corpo*, *elba felmo velso* ecc. Nessun indizio di ciò nostri testi,”<sup>3</sup> *attravelso* C. Son., 5, *Foltunato* 6, *pelché*, *folnelli*, *calbone* 9, *tolno* 13, *Tolquato* 14, *convelsazione*, *paltita*, *pelsone* 19, *Govelno*, *melcato* 24, *Lungalno*, *diveltimento* 25, *discolsi* 26, *giolnale* 27, *dicelto* 28, *pelsiane* 29, *Velginio* 30, *celca* 31, *giolnata* 33, *solgente* 37, *dolme*, *gualdia* 38, *foltuna* 42, *felmo*, *giolno*, *folno*, *tolmenti* 43, *selpente* 46, *alchitetto* 49, *velgine*, *Elnesto* 51, *ielsera* 53, *celvello* 56, *pelnesso* 62, *Maltino* 63, *pelso*, *osselvazione* 65, *Vennaldì* 66, etc.

(b) In modern Pistoiese the *r* of the infinitive is frequently assimilated to the initial consonant of the personal or reflexive pronoun that is joined to it.

1.  $r + c > cc$ : *àssecçi* (C. 8), *riedécci* 10, *salicci* 17, *rimettecci* 23, *rappresentacci* (Son. Pop., 61).

2.  $r + l > ll$ : *sbeffallo* (C. 8), *vedello* 9, *addentalla*, *riaélla*, *ingrassalle*, *campalle*, *esfortolallo* 14, *ricercallo* 16, *mangiallo* 17, *potello* 18, *agguantallo* 19, *acchiappallo* 20, *menallo* 21, *ritirallo*, *troallo* 23, *aspettallo*, *tambussallo* 24, *raffreddalla* 25, *marimettalla* 26, *brancicalla*, *rimedialla* 37, *rivestilla* 40, *ammazzallo* (S. 175); *arrivedello* (Gr. P. 17), *ricompensallo* (Son. Pop., 19).

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 553.

3.  $r + m > mm$ : *ingrassammi* (C. 11), *pigghiammi* 20, *man-giammela* 26, *sbatacchiammi* 29, *levammi* (S. 187), *battemmi* 219, *vedemmi*, *sentimmi* (Son. Pop., 29).

4.  $r + s > ss$ : *smòessi*, *pigghiassi* (C. 12), *spassionassi* 13, *cercassi* 14, *dilontanassi*, *essessi*, *caricassi* 15, *sentissi* 18, *restassene* 20, *spiegassi* 21, *portasselo* 22, *misurassi*, *lamentassi* 24, *andassene* 25, *posassi* 26, *apprissi*, *serrassi* 29, *arrampicassi* 31, *persuadessi*, *caassi*, *stucassi* 32, *mettessi* 42, *fermassi* (Son. Pop., 45).

5.  $r + t > tt$ : *mettetti* (C. 8), *mangiatti* 10, *pappatti* 11, *cucinatti* 15, *ingrassatti* 17, *pigghiatti* 18, *contentatti* 21.—Cf. Flor. *dillo* C. Son., 5, *troallo* 10, *guarillo* 27, *dimenallo* 36, *offendilla* 52; *spiegammi* 31, *dammi* 36, *rimpicciammi*, *chiedimmi* 43; *riposassi*, *tappassi*, *strapazzassi* 25, *fermassi* 58; *portatti* 13, *fatti*, *essetti*, *amatti* 14, *vedetti*, *statti*, *recitatti* 43;—Sen. *dalli*, *dilla*, *fallo*, *lavorallo*, *murallo*, *portallo*, *mantenello*, *vedello*,<sup>1</sup> *avello* C. Son., 4, *chiamallo* 82; *rimediacci* 11, *avecci* 54; *rifammi* 35, *fammi* 53; *ditti* 5;—Pis. *stiaffallo*, *rispettallo* C. Son., 31, *martrattallo* 77, *vedello* 95; *pensacci* 78; *selbammi* 95; *godessi* 8, *strapazzassi*, *sbaglassi* 21, *trovassi* 41, *guadagnassi* 58, *levassi* 70, *scardassi* 74, *buscassi* 83.

### Prosthesis.

*ritropico* = *idropico* (M. 8), *rarrabatai* 48, (Signor) *Rispettore* (Gr. P. 10).

### Syncope.

1.  $r$  after a consonant: *contastare* = *contrastare* (J. 5) by assimilation, *propio* (C. 8), *dreto* *dē* + *rētro* (M. 52) by dissimilation, *castica* = *gastrica* (Gr. P. 25).

2.  $r$  before a consonant: *convisione* (Al. 38), *foteze* (Ric., 10), *maciolo* *mărcūm* + (Gr. P. 25).—Cf. Flor. *dreto* *Tancia*, 901, *propio* Lam. di Cec., 14;—Sen. *drieto*, *detro*; <sup>2</sup>—Pis. *dreto* C. Son., 102.

<sup>1</sup> Zs., IX, 428.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 554.

## Epenthesis.

1. Intervocalic *r*: *coresta* = *codesta*.

2. *r* after a consonant.

(a) after a labial: *prungitopoli*, *frusto füstis* (*Gr. P.* 13), *prugne* 37.

(b) after a dental: *drotrina* (*Al.* 29) by assimilation, *mas-tricare* 31, *listra* (*Gr. P.* 16), *mantrice* 17.

3. *r* before a consonant: *mandorlino* (*Gr. P.* 11), *aermaria* 41.—Cf. *Flor. coresto Lam. di Cec.*, 11, *attonito* 13, *concu-brina Tancia*, 929, *mandorlino C. Son.*, 33, *aliustre Racc.*, 282;—*Sen. Prietro Crest.*, 40, *caprestro*;<sup>1</sup>—*Luc. bruscola, frin-estra, vespre*;<sup>2</sup>—*Pis. bruscola, calubrinieri, troccolo* = *tocco*,<sup>3</sup> *aliustre Racc.*, 283.

## Metathesis.

*verneddi* (*M.* 17), *frebbe, preta* 17, *n.*, *sberno* 43, *drento* 47, *presempio* 57, *seropiti* (*C.* 9), *Preto*.—Cf. *Flor. drento Tancia*, 895, *Preto* 905, *vreto* 930, *frebbe* 948, *preta Lam. di Cec.*, 17;—*Sen. catredale, drento, frabricare, frebbe, Grabiello, persente* (*prae-sentem*), *prefeto* (*perfectum*), *vreto*; <sup>1</sup>—*Luc. presempio*; <sup>4</sup>—*Pis. treato, Penestra*.<sup>5</sup>

For the reciprocal metathesis of *l* and *r* cf. § 40, Metathesis.

## RR

## § 44. MEDIAL RR.

Intervocalic *rr* > *r*: *tera* (*Al.* 11), *nararo, guera* 21, *terena* 33, *coruccio* 68, *discoro* (*S.* 49), *gueriera* 127, *arosto* (*S.* and *C.* 13), *fero* (*C.* 24), *pori porrum* (*Gr. P.* 13), *emorogia haimor-hagia* 16, *guera* 21, *soccoriamo* 23, *ricore* 44, *erore, corezione* 46, *carozza, caro* 47, *afferare, accorer* 67.—Cf. *Luc. tera, faro, tore, corere, fero, caro, guera, teritorio*; <sup>6</sup>—*Pis. tore, tera, soc-corere, coreggiere*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 554.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 125.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>6</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 118.

## E. NASALS.

## M

## § 45. MEDIAL M.

1. Intervocalic *m*.

(a) *m* remains: *dimi* (*Al.* 27), *bestemia* (*Ap.* 69), *femina* 73, *solevomi* 91, *mostromi* 95.—Cf. *Sen. fumo Crest.*, 163;—*Luc. femina B. Luc.*, 49;—*Canzon. ital. femina.*<sup>1</sup>

(b) *m* > *mm*: *amme*, *damme* = *da* + *me* (*Ap.* 17), *chemmi* 43, *consummate* (*S.* 17), *fummare* 137, *cammerieri* (*N.* 162), *stommaco* (*Gr. P.* 12), *ammente* 13, *camumilla* *chaimaimelon* 16, *fummo* 17, *ammodo* 32, (*di*) *'mmondo* 50, *cammera*, *nimmo*.—Cf. *Sen. comme*;<sup>2</sup>—*Luc. nimmo*, *cocommalo*, *cammera*, *sem-mola*, *presumma*, *insiemme*, *chiamma*, *primma*;<sup>3</sup>—*Pis. commo*, *cammera*, *presummere*, *fummare*;<sup>4</sup>—*Aret. che mme Crest.*, 171.

## Variant.

*m* > *n*: *lagrunare* (*Al.* 62).

2. *m* before a consonant.

(a) *m* (+ *n*). 1. remains: *omnipotente* (*Ap.* 5); 2. becomes *n'* (written *ngn*): *ongni* (*J.* 18), *ongniuno* (*Ap.* 99); 3. becomes *r* (+ *n*): *auturno* (*M.* 19), *sciorni* *ex* + *sōmnūm* 72; 4. becomes *s* (+ *n*): *smenso* (*N.* 115) by assimilation.

(b) *m* (+ lab.) > *n* (+ lab.) by dissimilation: *senpice* (*Al.* 6), *tenporale* 61, *tenperare* 72, *inparare* 76, *inprima* (*B.* 77), *lanpe* (*Ap.* 19), *anpolle* 23, *canpo*, *senpre* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Lanberto*, *banbina*, *tenpeste*, *conpratore* 21, *tenperino* 22, *dinpero* = *de* + *impero* 23, *conposto* 24, *onbrelli* 43, *canbially* 66, *ronpetto*, *ganba* 67, *'nvecille* (*C.* 8), *tenpo*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. Decenbres*, *Novenbres*, *senper*, *ponpae*;<sup>5</sup>—*Sen. anbasciadore*, *anbo*, *banbino*, *canbiare*, *decembre*, *ganba*, *menbro*, *canpana*, *canpo*, *sen-*

<sup>1</sup> Caix, *Origini*, 142.<sup>2</sup> Zs., IX, 558.<sup>3</sup> A. G., XII, 120.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.<sup>5</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 108.

*pro, tempo*; <sup>1</sup>—Pis. *senblansa Crest.*, 78;—Aret. *menbrança* 63, *conperagione* 169, *conpiuto*, *compimento*, *senbrate*, *senpre* 170, *tenpestoso* 171, *enpone* 174, *menbra* 177, *tempo* 178, *scanpare* 179, *canpana* 181, *compagnia* 182;—Canzon. ital. *tempo*, *senpre*, *inpero*, *canpana*, *menbre*, *scanpar*, *compimento*, *onbra*, *tenpestoso*; <sup>2</sup>—in old Tuscan texts: *onbria Intell.*, 6, *insenbre* 17, *assenbiamento* 19; *B. d'Ant. tempo*, *inperadore Zs.* XV, 55, *compagnia* 56, *canpana* 57, *inprometto*, *canpare* 62, *Lonbardia*, *scanpare* 63.

### Syncope.

Before *n*: *danegiare* (*Al.* 37), *dona* 50, *onipotente* (*Ap.* 21), that is *mn* > *nn* by assimilation and then *n* by reduction.—Cf. Aret. *onipotente Crest.*, 170.

## MM

### § 46. MEDIAL MM.

Intervocalic *mm* > *m* by reduction: *somo sūmmūm* (*Al.* 8), *somitade* 31, *somaria* (*J.* 5), *amiratione* (*Al.* 71), *goma gūmmā* (*Gr. P.* 11).

### Variant.

*mm* > *rm*: *gatlomarmione* (*M.* 26).

## N

### § 47. INITIAL N.

*n* > *n'*: *gniochi nūclēūm* (*Gr. P.* 43), *gnente nēc* + *ēntēm* (*S.* 46); that is the dental becomes palatal according to the law of least action, for *gnente* = one action and *niente* = two actions; for the same reason *nēc* + *ūnūm* > *gnun*, *nīvēm* > *gneve*.—Cf. Flor. *gnun Nencia* 13;—Sen. *pergnente Racc.*, 283, *gneve*; <sup>3</sup>—Luc. *gnucca nuca*; <sup>4</sup>—Pis. *gnucca*; <sup>5</sup>—Tuscan *gneve*, *gnucca*, *gnente*; <sup>6</sup>—Rom. *gnuca*, *ggnente*; <sup>6</sup>—Venet. *gnente*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 558.

<sup>2</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, XVIII, 603.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>6</sup> *Caix, Dial. d'Ital.*, 132, 208.



## § 48. MEDIAL N.

## 1. Intervocalic n.

(a) *n* remains: *inanzi* (*Al.* 6), *genaio* (*Ricc.*, 2), *maganzino* Arab. *machsān* (*Gr. P.* 1).

(b) *n* > *nn*: *gennerale* (*Al.* 3), *dinnegare* 6, *ingennera* 7, *genneratione* 8, *nonnavere* (*Ap.* 9), *nonné* 71, *ennuda* 73, *nonneso* 83, *annulare* (*Gr. P.* 13), *'un-n aete* (*S.* 75), *'un-n è* 155.—Cf. *Flor.* *si nno Crest.*, 23;—*Sen.* *inn una* 37;—*Pis.* *gennero*, *cannapo*, *gennerale*, *tennesse*, *vennisse*, *tenne*, *venne*; <sup>1</sup>—*Aret.* *tra nnoi* 170, *inn esta* 172, *sennato* 173.

(c) *n* + *i* is written variously as its correlative *l* + *i*; *ni* is correlative to *li*, *nni* to *lli*, *gn* (*n'*) to *gl* (*l'*), *gni* (*n'*) to *gli* (*l'*), *ngn* (*n'*) to *lgl* (*l'*), and *ngni* (*n'*) to *lgli* (*l'*).

1. *ni*: *miniatte* (*Gr. P.* 43).

2. *nni*: *sinniore* (*Gr. P.* 20), *punniale* 21.

3. *gn*: *calugna* = old Italian *calogna* *călŭmnă* (*Gr. P.* 19), *vegno*, *tegno*.

4. *gni*: *bisognia* (*Ap.* 3), *abibisognio* 17, *signiore* (*Gr. P.* 22), *ingiegnio* 20, *compagnio* 66.

5. *ngn* in old Pistoiese: *tengnano* (*B.* 82), *singnore* 10, *vengnono* (*J.* 14), *ritengnano* 19, *assengnato* 23, and the modern *compangni* (*Gr. P.* 22).

6. *ngni* only in the older language: *vingnia* *vīnčă* (*Ap.* 61), *bangniata*, *singniore*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat.* *regnio*, *signium*; <sup>2</sup>—*Prat.* *tengno Crest.*, 94;—*Sen.* *singnoria* 40, *chompangni* 161; *signiore* 161; *compangnia* 162;—*Pis.* *sengnor*, *sengnoria* 59, *sengnoraggio* 79; *vegna* 166;—*Aret.* *sengnoragio* 64, *sengnoria* 168, *sengnor* 171, *Bologna* 176;—*Canzon. ital.* *sengnoragio*, *sengnoria*, *vengno*; *tegno*, *vegno*.<sup>3</sup>

## Variants.

(a) *n* > *n'*: *pezzalagna* (*M.* 40).

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 148–9.

<sup>2</sup> *Schuch., Vokalismus*, I, 116.

(b)  $n > l$  by dissimilation: *molimento* (*Al.* 79) perhaps influenced by *môles*, *malucano* (*S.* 14), *consolante* (*Gr. P.* 13).—Cf. *Sen. calonaco*.<sup>1</sup>

(c)  $n > r$ : *marimette*' (*C.* 9).

## 2. *n* after a consonant.

$gn > n'$  (written *gn*, *gni*, *ngn*, *ngni*. Cf.  $n + i > n'$ ).

1. *gn*: 'gnudo ĩgnūdũm (*C.* 18), 'gnudassi 19.

2. *gni*: *regnio* (*Al.* 5), *indegnatione* (*Ap.* 69), *legnio* (*Gr. P.* 20), *legniam* 26.

3. *ngn*: *ingnude* (*Al.* 68), *sengnare* (*J.* 4).

4. *ngni*: *rengnio* (*Ap.* 5), *insengniare* 11, *dengni* 15, *sengniale* 41, *angnielo* 57, *sengnio*, *mangnificherà* 63, *stangnio*, *rengniarono* 85.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. cognatus*, *ingnes*, *singno*; <sup>2</sup>—*Sen. lengna Crest.*, 37, *Angnelone* 117;—*Pis. congnoosciuto* 167;—*Aret. degnia* 170, *benignio* 175, *regniando* 176, *pegnio* 178, *pugniando* 183; *sdengni*, *dengno* 169, *lengno*, *pungnare* 173, *ingnoranza* 174;—*Canzon. ital. segnio*; *dengno*, *sengnare*.<sup>3</sup>

## 3. *n* before a consonant.

(a)  $n (+ \text{lab.})$  remains in the prefixes *in* and *con* in old Pistojesse.

1. *in*: *inperciochè* (*Al.* 7), *inpedimento*, *inpedisca* 14, *inposto*, *inportuno* 15, *impossebile* 16, *immantenente* 22, *inpara* 30, *inprende* 44, *inperadore* 53, *inparaule* (*J.* 16).

2. *con*: *conposta* (*Al.* 15), *compresa* 16, *conbacteno* 53, *conrronpe* 57.—Cf. *Sen. inbarbagliato*, 'nbrattato, *inpegnare*, *imperiale*, 'npiccare, *inpregnare*; *enpazzare*, *enpedimento*, *enperciò*, *enpiegare*.<sup>4</sup>

(b)  $n + g > n'$ : *divegna* (*Al.* 9), *vagnelo*  $\epsilon\nu + \alpha\nu\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ , *pertegna* 12, *pognasi* 59, *piagnere* (*N.* 89), *ugnerlo* 115.

(c)  $n + l > ll$  by assimilation in *con* + a personal pronoun in old Pistojesse: *cholloro* (*Ap.* 11), *collui* 19, *collei* 75.

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 557.

<sup>2</sup> *Schuch.*, *Vokalismus*, I, 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Caix*, *Origini*, 148-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 539, 555.

(d)  $n(+\text{cons.}) > m(+\text{cons.})$  in old Pistojesse.

1. Before labials by assimilation: *'mframectere* (Al. 3), *Sam-paulo* 4, *lamfranco* 16, *um* (*proverbio*) 38, *Sampietro* 52, *gram* (*parentadi*) 61, *dom* (*francesco*) 81, *chomforta*, *chomfessoro* (Ap. 15), *comfusione* 17, *nom* (*finavano*) 21, *gram* (*fornacie*) 37.

2. Before dentals by dissimilation: *temtati* (Ap. 9), *pemtire* 13, *nom* (*truovo*) 15, *emtrerrò* 19, *ventriquattro* 21, *assembio* 35, *ventre*, *dentro* 43, *onipotente* 63, *chom* (*techo*) 81, *ardente* 91, *chomtaminata* 95; *remdette* 3, *gramde*, *chamdellieri* 5, *risplemde* 7, *grandissima* 13, *ripremdo* 17, *nascomdeteci* 29, *Rubem* (d-) 31, *gramdine* 35, *remdere*, *vemdichare* 47, *amderà* 71, *disciemdeva* 89, *rispremdiente* 93.

3. Before a sibilant: *comsigliò* (Ap. 11), *chom* (*sette*) 21, *inciemsi* 33, *nom* (*se*) 57, *nom* (*sia*) 67, *schomsolata* 77; *dinamzi* 3, *penitemzia* 9, *potenza* 39, *semza* 57.

4. Before gutturals: *adomqua* (Al. 3), *incontrario* 7, *cimque* 39, *sam* (*giovanni*) B. 78, *temghono* (Ap. 11), *com* (*gramde*) 21; *'ngiura* (Al. 53), *principe* (Ap. 3), *principio* 5, *anche* 9, *gram* (*cittade*) 77, *amgielo* 15, *chom* (*gregarli*) 67.

5. Before a liquid: *sam* (*lorenzo*) B. 79.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *tantum*, *duocentum*, *cessante*, *Palantino*, *quantum*, *sententiam*, *volutas*, *fervente*, *umde*; *optumsi*, *demsis*; *quincumque*, *avomculus*, *tangentium*, *umquentum*; <sup>1</sup>—Prat. *comquisa* Crest., 94, *gram* (*bene*), *nom* (*possa*), *im* (*foco*) 95;—Sen. *comferemte*, *sam* (*p*), *alcum* (*modo*), *alcum* (*fratre*); Antonio, *dipemtore*, *novamta*, *quanto*, *rimcontro*, *allomgo*, *arcamgelo*; *osservamzia*, *quittamz(i)a*, *nom* (*pajono*); <sup>2</sup> *nom* (*so*), *pemsieri* Crest., 81;—Aret. *im* (*buona*) 169, *comquiso* 182;—Canzon. ital. *nom* *poria*, *im* *parte*, *gram* *bene*, *im* *frondo*, *comforto*; *pemsar*, *comsento*.<sup>3</sup>

#### Variant.

$n + r > rr$ : *marritta* (Gr. P. 15) by assimilation.

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Zs., IX, 556.

<sup>3</sup> Caix, *Origini*, 150.

## Prosthesis.

*n* of the preposition *in*:<sup>1</sup> *nentrare* (C. 21), *ninferno*, *nabisso*; *n* of the adverb *ne*:<sup>2</sup> *nusciamo* (C. 9), *nesce* 15, *nescita* (S. 84) and probably *nempara* = *impara* (Gr. P. 25).—Cf. Flor. *nescire* Lam. di Cec., 10;—Sen. *ninferno*;<sup>3</sup>—Luc. *nentrare*, *niscire*;<sup>4</sup>—Pis. *nentrare*, *nuscire*.<sup>5</sup>

## Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic *n*: *Sa iacopo* (Al. 35), *no' abbia*, *no' ostante* (J. 29) are also modern Pistojesse.

(b) *n* before a cons. only in old Pistojesse: *comendando* and *comesso* (Al. 22) by reduction, *co' (loro)* 39, *ubriaza* = *oblianza* 65.—The *n* of the preposition *con* (+ cons.) falls occasionally in Pop. Latin: *cofisse*, *coiectis*, *covenimus*.<sup>6</sup>

## Epenthesis.

Before a cons.: *Banbilonia* (Ap. 59), *andonque* 53 and *angonia* (M. 12) by assimilation, *schiansimo* = *spasimo* (M. 5), *rinchiasta* (J. 8), *stencurito* = *steccolito* (M. 46).—Cf. the Pop. Lat. which inserts *n* after long vowels before *s*, and after both short and long vowels before other consonants, than *s*: *Allans*, *diens*, *Cheronensi*, *herens*, *Indigens*, *disponsuit*; *candi*, *recendens*, *cendentes*, *frenquens*, *congnato*, *tringinta*, *vinginta*, *sinbi*;<sup>7</sup>—Sen. *ancadere*, *anconciare*, *parangone*, *rinchiédare*, *sincondo*, *enscire*.<sup>8</sup>

## NN

## § 49. MEDIAL NN.

Intervocalic *nn* > *n* by reduction: *anonziano* (Al. 12), *anonziamente* 16, *inocenzo* 32, *cinamomo* κιννάμωμον (Ap. 77).

<sup>1</sup> Caix, *Origini*, 150.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 196.

<sup>3</sup> Zs., IX, 555.

<sup>4</sup> A. G., XII, 125.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>6</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 107.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 112–14.

<sup>8</sup> Zs., IX, 445, 455.

## F. GUTTURALS.

## PALATAL C'.

## § 50. INITIAL C'.

## Variants.

- (a)  $c' > c(h) = k'$ : *chelano* (*Al.* 46), *checco* 46, n.  
 (b)  $c' > t$ : *tin caglieria* = *chincagliera* (*Gr. P.* 12).

## § 51. MEDIAL C'.

## 1. Intervocalic c'.

$c' > c'$  ( $\check{s}$ ) is a strong modern Pistojesse and Florentine characteristic: (*à*) *cinque*, (*e*) *cento*, *dice*, *dicea*, *coco*, *cocce*, *face*, *facea*, (*ma*) *cietta*, *cucire*, *cucina*, (*la*) *celia*, (*doppo*) *cena*, (*la*) *ci*, *diacere*, *piace*, *piacere*, *giudice*, *diece*, *undici*, *dodici*, (*che*) *cerchi*, (*una*) *cestina*, *bocina*, *'nvecille*, (*dì*) *certo*, *vicino*, (*poero*) *ceco*, *facile*, *difficile*, *porticina*, *decidere*, (*la*) *città*, *macina*, (*dì*) *celo*, (*a*) *cervello*, *fece*, *piacimento*, *capace*, *voce*, *noce*, *croce*, *foce*, *luce*, etc.; secondary  $c'$  in *camicia*, *bruciare*.—Cf. Sen.  $\check{c} > sc$  ( $\check{s}^2$ ): *crosce*, *dodisci*, *drusciolare*, *vosce*.<sup>1</sup>

## Variants.

- (a)  $c' > ch (= k')$ : *mendichitade* (*Al.* 62), *chiachierone* (*Gr. P.* 20).  
 (b)  $c' > gh (g')$ : *poghissime* (*M.* 89).  
 (c)  $c' + \check{i} > ce (kk)$ : *noccuolo*, *becchacca* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. Sen. *bracca*, *dicotto*, *fanculla*.<sup>1</sup>  
 (d)  $c' + i > zzi$ : *sarifizzi* (*Gr. P.* 22).

2.  $c'$  after a consonant.

## Variants.

- (a)  $l(+c') > l(+z)$ : *calzone*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 564.

(b)  $(r +) c' > 1. (r +) \acute{e}$ : *barcetta* (*Gr. P.* 21); 2.  $(r +) t$ : *artibugi* (*M.* 33).

(c)  $(s +) c' > sci (\acute{s})$ : *masile* (*Gr. P.* 20).

(d).  $(n) + c + \acute{i} > (n +) gi (g')$ : *giangie* O. H. G. wankja (*Gr. P.* 14) by assimilation.

(e)  $(s +) c' + \acute{i} > sci (\acute{s})$ : *pescio* (*Gr. P.* 11).

## VELAR C.

### § 52. MEDIAL C.

#### 1. Intervocalic c.

(a) *c* remains: *piacuto* (*Al.* 20), *sicome* (*Ap.* 65), *sfiamicante* (*C.* 11).

(b)  $c > ce (kk)$ : *periccolo* (*Al.* 43), *accolui* (*Ap.* 9), *accoloro* 35, *accavallo* 83, *giuccate* (*N.* 27), *accui* (*Gr. P.* 40), *articolo*, *domiciliato* *Son. Pop.*, 39.—Cf. *Pis. Pocco*, *articolo C. Scn.*, 59;—*Aret. a comune Crest.*, 176, *a ccui* 179.

(c)  $c > ch$  in old Pistojesse.<sup>1</sup> Traces of this open consonant *ch* are still found in the Pistojesse mountains. Ciampi<sup>2</sup> says: "L'aspirazione dopo la lettera *c* accanto alle vocali *a, e, o, u*, è proprio della pronunzia toscana, e specialmente fiorentina. In que' principj della scrittura volgare seguitavasi servilmente il suono che ne udia l'orecchio, perciò in questo codice è quasi sempre l'*h* dopo la *c* unita a quelle vocali. L'orecchio è certamente stato sempre la guida principale nella scrittura; ed ha prevalso di sovente alle regole grammaticale."

Examples in old Pistojesse: (*si*) *chome*, (*a*) *chui*, (*di*) *chascione*, (*mio*) *charissimo*, (*che*) *chanti*, (*percuote*) *choll'*, (*quella*) *chosa*, (*e*) *chosi* (*Al.* 3), *pechato*, (*e*) *chato*, *senocha*, (*uomo*) *churiciato*, *amicho* 4, (*de*) *chonsolare*, *bocha* 7, (*di*) *choloro*, *nemicho* 8, (*puote*) *champare*, (*buoni*) *chostumi* 9, *sichura*, *dicho*, *fuocho*, (*morire*) *cho*, *anticho* 10, (*chi*) *chastiga*, (*quasi*) *chani*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article, "Manuscripts in the Pistojesse Dialect," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. VIII, No. 4, cols. 213-14.

<sup>2</sup> *Albertano da Brescia*, 89.

11, *achatta*, *sechondo* 12, (*gudico*) *cholui*, (*la*) *chonvenevile*, (*la*) *chupidità* 14, (*dei*) *chomendare*, (*apresso*) *chonfortare*, (*la*) *chonfortazione* 15, *echo*, (*tua*) *chugnata*, (*lo*) *chaso*, (*ò*) *churato* 16, *medicho*, *richo*, (*la*) *chasa* 19, etc., (*viene*) *cholli*, (*è*) *choloro*, *domenicha*, (*sette*) *chamdellieri*, (*li*) *chapelli*, *focho* (*Ap.* 5), (*usciva*) *choltello*, *secholi* 7, etc., etc.

Examples in modern Pistoiese: (*dì*) *chamica*, (*la*) *cholpa*, (*dalla*) *chulla* (*Gr. P.* 20), *amicho* 21, *trappocho* 25, (*de*) *chastelli*, (*vacca*) *cholla* 43, *nemicho*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. sechundo*, *locho*, *monachicho*;<sup>1</sup>—*Sen.* (*la*) *chasa*, (*nei*) *chalçari*, *rachonciatura Crest.*, 36, (*e*) *charta* 37, *richolse domichato*, (*che*) *choriva* 38, (*la*) *chonpagna*, *domenicha* 39, (*a*) *chui* 82, *jachomo*, *Caciachonti*, *sichuri* 161, *sichome*, (*avemo*) *chostumato*, (*e*) *chosì*, *rachondati*, (*a*) *chagione*, (*avemo*) *chon* 162, *prochuratore*, (*nè*) *chapo*, *achordo*, (*da*) *chorte*, (*e*) *chavalehate*, *achata*, (*neuna*) *chosa*, *tochase* 163, etc.;—*Aret.* (*e*) *chasa* 175, *pocho* 176, *dicho*, *anticha*, (*che*) *chapitale*, *giocho* 178.

(d)  $c > g$ : *pogo* (*M.* 37), *figo*, *sego*, *amigo*, *aguto*, *siguranza* 10, n., (*che*) *gosta*, *seguzione* 84, *asseguero* 107, (*-o*) *gattivo*.

Many words which in Italian are exceptions to the rule that voiceless cons.  $\leftarrow >$  voiced, follow the rule in Pistoiese, e. g. *segondo*, *savere*, *tregento*, etc.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. segundo*, *plagat*, *logationis*;<sup>2</sup>—*Flor.* (*paese*) *gastigar Tancia*, 930;—*Sen.* *aguto*, *fabriga*, *fatiga*, *logagione*, *loriga*, *vagazione*,<sup>3</sup> *gativi Crest.*, 165;—*Luc.* *segura scure*, *seguro*, *segondo*, *fogaccia*, *pogo*, *miga*, *sbigorare*, *regare*, *giuogo*;<sup>4</sup>—*Pis.* *siguro*, *segondo*, *pogo*, *oga*, *duga*, *stadigo*;—*Aret.* *pogo Crest.*, 64;—*Canzon. ital.* *siguro*, *poga*, *asigura*, *segondo*.<sup>5</sup>

(e)  $c > gh$ : in old Pistoiese: *luogho* (*Al.* 7), *pogho* 14, *pregho* 33, (*-e*) *ghostantino* 72, *draghone* (*Ap.* 49), (*quattro*) *ghomiti cūbītūm* 93, and modern *botteghaio* *ăpōthēcārīŭm* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Aret. preghar Crest.*, 169, *pogho* 176, *negho* 177, *seghondo* 178.

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 74.

<sup>4</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 126–7.

<sup>5</sup> *Caix, Origini*, 169–70.

<sup>3</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 562

(f)  $c > h$  (sometimes written  $h$ , but generally  $c$ ) in modern Pistoiese: *poho*, *domeniha*, *magnifiho* *havallo*, (*bella*) *honsolazione*, (*di*) *huore*, (*fece*) *horrere*, (*horrere*) *harubinieri*, (*bravo*) *hustode*, (*fatto*) *havaliere*, (*di*) *haresima* (*Gr. P.* 50), *rediholo*, *diho*, *sihuro*, *pehora*, *imbriaho*, (*cattivo*) *hane*, (*a*) *hapito*, (*a*) *homido*, *delihato*, (*e*) *hammina*, (*le*) *hapre*, (*le*) *harze*, *cieho*, (*una*) *hattiva*, *foho*, *coho*, *amiho*, *nemiho*, *periholo*, *spettaholo*, *fiho*, *miha*, *cohombero*, *diffihultà*, (*la*) *harne*, (*ugni*) *hosa*, (*si*) *hosta*, (*la*) *hampana*, (*lo*) *hompro*, (*si*) *homprende*, (*la*) *hontadina*, (*mi*) *rihordo*, *mediho*, (*le*) *hode*, *paniho*, (*i*) *havalli*, *mašihana*, *fihura*, *portiho*, etc.—This development of intervocalic  $c > h$  is quite as common in modern Florentine as in Pistoiese;—Sen. *havalieri*, *halende*, *hontento*, *judiho*;<sup>1</sup>—Luc. Qui pure il ben noto digradamento toscano a fricativa (*la hasa*, *memiho*; \* \* \*), \* \* \* se non che il *h* lucchese differisce da quello d'altre parlate, in specie dal fiorentino, per la minore 'stretta orale' come anche mostra il suo totale dileguo;<sup>2</sup>—Pis. "Qui pure il digradamento a fricativa."<sup>3</sup>

## Variant.

$c + i > cc$  (*kk*): *faccia* *faceat* (*Al.* 76).

2.  $c$  after a consonant.

(a)  $(l +) c > (l +) ch$ : *alchuno*, (*l*) *chane* (*Al.* 3), (*nel*) *chuore*, (*il*) *chapo*, *oricalcho* (*Ap.* 50), (*nel*) *chospetto* 47, (*yl*) *charatere* 59, and modern (*il*) *chane* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. Sen. (*el*) *chosto* *Crest.*, 163, (*al*) *chumune* 164, (*el*) *chonte* 165;—Pis. *alchuno* 167;—Aret. *alchuno* 169.

(b)  $(n +) c > (n +) ch$ : *mancha* (*Al.* 10), *inchuminciamenti* 12, (*in*) *chasa* 19, *vincha* 34, *anchora*, (*chon*) *choreggia bianca* (*Ap.* 5), *imbiancharono* 33, *ancho* (*MS.* 22).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *choncava*, *speluncha*;<sup>4</sup>—Sen. (*in*) *chorsa* *Crest.*, 162, (*in*) *choncordia* 163, *ancho* 164, *inchorata*, *inchontanente* 165;—Aret. *spiloncha* 176.

<sup>1</sup> Zs., IX, 563.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>2</sup> Pieri, A. G., XII, 120–21.

<sup>4</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 73.



(c)  $(r +)c > (r +)ch$ : *cercha* (Al. 3), *porcho* 49,  $(p)$  *chom-battere* 37, *archo* 41, *merchatanti* 75.—Cf. Sen. *merchantia* Crest., 161,  $(pur)$  *choviene* 162,  $(per)$  *chanpare* 165.

(d)  $(s +)c > (s +)ch$ : *oschura* (Al. 8), *naschoso* 10, *dischaccia* 20, *didaschalo* 35, *pascha* (Ap. 49), *mescholato* 63, *veschovado* (MS. 22), *rischuotere* (MS. 183).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *coruscho*; <sup>1</sup>—Sen. *Meschada* Crest., 36.

### 3. *c* before a consonant.

(a)  $c (+ r) > g (+ r)$ : *lagrunare* = *lacrimare* (Al. 62), *sagrifitii* (Ap. 11), *sagramento* 71,  $(i)$  *grostini* (Gr. P. 21).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *sagramenta*; <sup>2</sup>—Sen. *gruogo* (*crocum*); <sup>3</sup>—Pis.  $(povero)$  *gristiano* C. Son., 23.

(b)  $(\text{vow.} +)c (+ r) > h$  in modern Pistoiese:  $(la)$  *hresima*,  $(la)$  *hrezazione* (Gr. P. 50),  $(lo)$  *hredo*,  $(lo)$  *hristiano*,  $(la)$  *hroše*, *sahro*.—Cf. Luc.  $(la)$  *hroce*, *sahro*.<sup>4</sup>

(c)  $c (+ t)$  remains in learned words in old Pistoiese: *doctrina* (Al. 3), *sancto*, *dilectione*, *facto*, *dicto* 4, *driectura*, *effecto* 5, *tracta*, *costrecto* 6, *aspecta* 8, *driectamente* 9, *predecte* 12, *dilectamente* 13, *frecta*, *frectoso*, *driectissimo* 14, *tractare*, *lectora* 16, *fructo* 19, *benedecto* 20, *convicti*, *vendecta* 21, *Risurrectione* 25, *auctorità* 33, *dilecta* 38, *sospecto* 42, *vectoria* 51, *distructa* 52, *electi* (J. 2), *octo* 3, *fecte* *ěvčetă* (?) 24.—Cf. Luc. *facto* B. Luc., 1, *dicto*, *tractato* 2, *nocte*, *distrecto* 3, *octo* 5, *effecto* 6, *victoria* 7, *electo* 15, *distructo* 20, *contracto*, *conductor* 41, *afficto* 56, *exaectore* 59, *cecto* 84, *sospecto* 83, *Octobre* 90, *auctorità* 99, *diriectamente* 100, *predecto* 111, etc.;—Pis. *dicto* Crest., 166, *vendecta* 167;—Canzon. ital. *constrecto*, *giecto*, *facto*, *dilecto*, *tracto*, *conducto*, *puncto*.<sup>5</sup>

(d)  $c (+ t + \dot{i})$  remains. Cf.  $(c +)t + \dot{i}$ , § 27, 1.

### Variants.

(a)  $c (+ d) > z$ : *soza* (Al. 5).

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>3</sup> Zs., IX, 562.

<sup>4</sup> Pieri, A. G., XII, 120–21.

<sup>5</sup> Caix, *Origini*, 175.

(b)  $c(+l) > 1$ . *cc'* (*čč'*): *speccietti* (*Gr. P.* 43); 2. *chi* (= *ki*): *orechie* (*Al.* 3), *ochi* 10; 3. *ti*: *mastio* (*Gr. P.* 11).

(c)  $c(+t) > 1$ . *cc* (*kk*): *spacco* (*Gr. P.* 43); 2. *t*: *altorità* (*Ricc.*, 14); 3. *ss*: *resurrezione* (*Ap.* 87).

### Syncope.

1. Intervocalic *c* is regularly syncopated in modern Pistoiese. The different stages of the development of intervocalic  $c > g > ch > h$  then syncopation, are all supported by examples; e. g. *paucum* > *pœu* > *poco* > *pogo* > *pocho* > *poho* > *poo* > *po*: *mia* (*M.* 33), *siuro*, *rediole* (*C.* 8), *cio* 11, *manio* 18, *dio* 25, *sarvatia* 35, (*si*) 'onosce, (*progresso*) 'ammīna, (*ugni*) 'osa (*Son. Pop.*, 11), (*santi*) 'aro 17, *gioondo* 19, *poo* 27, *letiare* 29, (*picchiava*) 'ol 33, (*ci*) 'ontaa, (*lo*) 'ondanna, (*di*) 'acio 35, *pizziore*, (*mi*) 'ultello 37, (*partire*) 'onfini 43, *avvoato* 45, (*di*) 'ore 47, (*di*) 'orsa, (*è*) 'avalleggeri, (*enno*) 'orazzieri, *nemio* 49, (*di*) 'otone 55, (*su*) 'omitato 61, (*la*) 'ambiale 63, *coombero*, (*della*) *Iesa*, (*la*) *iave* (*Gr. P.* 12), *difiultà*, (*questa*) 'ofaccia 15, (*la*) 'arne, (*si*) 'omptra 24, etc.; I have noted two examples also in old Pistoiese: *afatiamiento* (*Al.* 3), *ebraiamente* (*Ap.* 39).—The syncopation of intervocalic *c* is of frequent occurrence in modern Florentine;—*Sen. auto*, *amio*, *coo* (*cuoco*), *diano* (*decanum*), *dio* (*dico*), *givo*, *musia*, *perìolo*, *rediole*, *siurare*,<sup>1</sup> (*bevetti*) 'or, (*mi*) 'ara, *giudiare* *C. Son.*, 1, (*ti*) 'onfondi 3, *avvoato* 4, *poo* 5, (*di*) 'ascare 7, (*du*) 'astagne 8, (*mondo*) 'ane, (*de*) 'omprimenti 10, *Gioondo*, (*tanto*) 'onfidenza 12, (*fate*) 'onfusione 13, etc.;—*Luc. (la) asa*, *nemio* ecc.;<sup>2</sup>—*Pis. repubbria*, *assiuero* *C. Son.*, 8, *foo* 9, (*di*) 'oraggio 10, (*mi*) 'onfondo 12, *dio*, (*co*) 'avalli 13, (*fece*) 'omprimenti 16, *amio*, (*mi*) 'ugino, etc.

### 2. *c* before a consonant.

(a) Before *r*: *saramento* (*J.* 2), (*una*) 'resta (*C.* 11), (*lo*) 'redo 15, *sarestano* (*un*) *rimandello* (*Gr. P.* 12), *miroscopio* 14, *sarafizzi* 22, (*dottrina*) 'ristriana 50.—Cf. *Sen. saramento*, *sara-*

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 562.

<sup>2</sup> *Pieri, A. G.*, XII, 120–21.

*ficie*, (lo) 'redo *C. Son.*, 7, (*Dio*) 'ristiani 25;—*Pis.* (lo) 'rederesti *C. Son.*, 12, (la) 'rociata 44.

(b) Before *t*; that is *et* > *tt* by assimilation and then > *t* by reduction: *otava* (*Al.* 8), *vendeta* 21, *drito* 28, *drotrina* 29, *dileta* 38, *fato* 58, *vetoria* 65, *diletione* 75, *charatere* (*Ap.* 59), *benedito* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. vitoria*;<sup>1</sup>—*Sen. ottobre Crest.*, 36, *deto* 37, *oto* 38;—*Luc. exatione B. Luc.*, 31.

### Variant.

Before *d*: *aneddotto* (*Gr. P.* 47).

### Epenthesis.

1. Intervocalic *c*: *giranico* (*Gr. P.* 17), *stantico* 24; *medico* 13 is formed by analogy with *police*, *indice*.
2. After *r*: *sciorcinati* (*M.* 68).

## PALATAL CC'.

### § 53. MEDIAL CC'.

(a) *cc'* > *c'* (*č*): *socidere* (*Al.* 35), *faccia* 52, *uciso* (*Ap.* 53), *lucese* (*Ricc.*, 10).

(b) *cc'* > *cc'* (*čč*): *riccetha* (*Al.* 62), *tocchetto* (*M.* 35).

## VELAR CC.

### § 54. MEDIAL CC.

#### 1. Intervocalic *cc*.

(a) *cc* > *ch*: *pechato* (*Al.* 4), *bocha* 7, *achusatore* (*Ap.* 51), *suchero* (*Gr. P.* 23).

(b) *cc* > *ech*: *eccho* (*Ap.* 5), *boccha* 7, *riccho* 9, *saccho* 27, *fiacchola* 35, *piccholi* 87, *roccha* (*Gr. P.* 20), *acchovacata*, *saccho*, *schochhare*, *becchacca* 21, *socchorso* 44.—Cf. *Aret. toccha Crest.*, 179.

<sup>1</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 134.

2. *cc before a consonant.*

$cc (+ l) > c (+ l)$ : *eclesia* (*J.* 12).

Epenthesis.

Before *qu*: *terrácqueo* (*Gr. P.* 12).

## CH

## § 55. INITIAL CH.

$ch > c(k)$ : *cocolata* (*Gr. P.* 43) by assimilation.

## PALATAL G'.

## § 56. MEDIAL G'.

1. *Intervocalic g'.*

(a)  $g' > g'(\check{g})$  in old Pistoiese: *legerai* (*Al.* 4), *lege* 6, *legieramente* 7, *fugire* 12, *afigeno* 19, *regesse* 24.

(b)  $g' > g'(\check{z})$  in modern Pistoiese and Florentine just as intervocalic  $c' > c'(s')$ : (*hua*) *gira*, (*co*) *gesti*, (*le*) *genti*, etc.

## Variants.

(a)  $g' > v$ : *pavesi* *pāgēnsēm* (*S.* 253); the  $g'$  disappears and then the voiced labial glide  $v$  is introduced to break hiatus.

(b)  $g' > \check{z}$ : (*terra*) *Ghozzi* *Gogem*, *Maghozzi* (*Ap.* 87).

2. *g' after a consonant.*

## Variants.

(a)  $(n +)g' > (n +)g$ : *Angolino* (*Gr. P.* 21).

(b)  $(r +)g' > (r +)i$ : *ariento*, *inariantata* (*J.* 24).—Cf. *Flor. ariento Tancia*, 926 ;—*Luc. ariento B. Luc.*, 48.

## Syncope.

Intervocalic  $g'$ : (*le*) *iande* = *ghiandi* < *gländēm* (*Gr. P.* 13).

## VELAR G.

## § 57. INITIAL G.

*g* remains: *goia* (*Al.* 65), and modern *goie* (*Gr. P.* 21), *gubba* 22, *gallo* 23.

## § 58. MEDIAL G.

1. Intervocalic *g*.

(a) *g* > *c*: *ficurati* (*S.* 168), *sficurito* 210, *ficura* (*C.* 17), (*febbre*) *castica* (*Gr. P.* 25).—Cf. *Sen. ficura*, *lecat*.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *g* > *gh* in old Pistoiese: *Aghostino* (*Al.* 5), *reghole* 46, *sinaghogha* (*Ap.* 9), *gastigho* 17, *aghore* 39, *piagha* 45, (*terra*) *Ghozzi* Gogem, *Maghozzi* 87, and modern *voghan* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Aret. fighura Crest.*, 170, *mitighando*, *piagha* 175.

## Variants.

(a) *g* > *ch* in old Pistoiese: *rumichare* (*Al.* 30), (*sofferente*) *chovernarsi* 60.

(b) *g* > *v*: *tevoli tēgūlā* (*Gr. P.* 17), *bavulli bag + ūlūm* 43; the *g* disappears and the voiced labial glide *v* is introduced to break hiatus. Cf. intervocalic *g'* > *v*.

2. *g* after a consonant.

(a) (*l* +) *g* > (*l* +) *gh*: *volghare* (*Al.* 16), *tolgha* (*Ap.* 17), *folghore* 19.

(b) (*n* +) *g* > 1. (*m* +) *gh*: *temghono* (*Ap.* 11); 2. (*n* +) *gh*: *lungamente* (*Al.* 7), *inghanno* 9, *vengho* (*Ap.* 7).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. longho*.<sup>2</sup>

3. *g* before a consonant.

*g* (+ *n*) remains: *cognosci* (*Al.* 10), and modern *cognoscere* (*S.* 62).—Cf. *Luc. cognoscere*; <sup>3</sup>—*Pis. cognoscere*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 565.

<sup>2</sup> *Schuch., Vokalismus*, I, 74.

<sup>3</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

## Prosthesis.

*granocchiaccio* (S. 5), *granocchio* (C. 75).—Cf. Luc. *gragnolo*;<sup>1</sup>—Pis. *granocchio*.<sup>2</sup>

## Q(U)

## § 59. MEDIAL Q.

1. Intervocalic *q*.

$g > h$  (generally written *c*) in modern Pistoiese: (*ma*) *huando*, (*e*) *huarche*, (*viene*) *huê*, (*viene*) *hua*, (*e*) *hualo*, (*due*) *huattrinelli*, (*serama*) *huarcun*, (*huella*) *huercia*, (*e*) *home*, (*buscassi*) *huarhosa*, (*sulla*) *hualità*, (*una*) *huanità*, (*e*) *hualunche*, (*se*) *huattro*, (*e*) *huasi*, (*ma*) *huasimente*, (*ecco*) *huanto*, (*uno*) *huattrino*, and in old Pistoiese (*errasti*) *quando* (Al. 47).—Cf. Flor. which has regularly the same development of intervocalic  $q > h$ ;—Luc. (*la*) *huantita*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

## Variants.

- (a)  $q > qq$ : *agque* (Ap. 5), *lagquie* (M. 51).
- (b)  $q > c'$  (*č*): *riciedere* (Al. 12), *dioce* = *dio che* 22.
- (c)  $q > g$ : (*ziù*) *guasi* (Gr. P. 23), *ligori* 43.—Cf. Flor. (*resta*) *guasi* C. Son., 11;—Sen. (*rimase*) *guasi* C. Son., 14;—Pis. *liguori* C. Son., 84.
- (d)  $q > cc$  (*kh*): *accua*, *accuolina* (C. 18).

2. *q* after a consonant.

(*n* +)  $q > 1$ . (*n* +) *ch* (= *k'*): *quantunche* (Al. 63), *qualunche* (J. 5), *donche* (C. 8), *chiunche*; 2. (*n* +) *c*, *h* (*h*): *cincu'* (S. and C. 4), (*un*) *huattrino*, (*un*) *huattrinello* where the tongue is drawn back from the teeth and the velum is closed so that simple aspiration is produced.—Cf. Flor. *donche Tancia*, 895;—Sen. *chiunche*, *qualunche*, *donche*, *onche*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A. G., XII, 122.<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 151.<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 121.<sup>4</sup>Zs., IX, 563.

## Syncope.

Intervocalic *q*: (*codesti*) *uaderni* (*Gr. P.* 24), *euatore* 50, (*ecco*) *ui*, (*viene*) *ua*, *auila*, (*la*) *uantità*, (*la*) *uale*, (*ate*) *uarche*, (*uella*) *uercia*, (*e*) *uasi*, (*hai*) *uasimente*, (*va*) *uando*, (*vuole*) *uanto*, (*la*) *ualità*, (*uno*) *uattrino*.—Cf. *Flor.* which regularly syncopates intervocalic *q*;—*Sen.* (*viene*) *'ua* *C. Son.*, 9, (*bada*) *'uanto* 10, (*guardi*) *'ome* 11, (*la*) *'uadriglia* 29, (*essere*) *'ualunque* 65.

## X

## § 60. MEDIAL X (= KS).

1. Intervocalic *x*.

(a) *x* remains in learned words in old Pistoiese: *proximana* (*Al.* 54), *proximo* 75, *crocifixo* (*J.* 3), *relaxare* 16, *allexandro* (*Ricc.*, 24), *exercito* 28.—Cf. *Luc. proximo* *B. Luc.*, 2, *exactione* 18, *relaxare* 29, *texeno* 50, *taxare* 87;—*Canzon. ital. luxura, exempro, proximo*;<sup>1</sup>—“Anche nel P. Intell., e così in molti cdd. del sec. XIV e talvolta nell A. Petr. e perfino in rima: *crocifixo* (: *abisso*) *C. D. Comm.* 96.”<sup>1</sup>

(b) *x > s*: *proximo* (*Al.* 5), *masimamente* 12.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. prosima*.<sup>2</sup>

(c) *x > ss*: *asempri* *ëxëmplūm* (*Al.* 9), *essercito* (*Ap.* 83), *lassa[mi]* (*C.* 9).—Cf. *Luc. lassare* *B. Luc.*, 114;—*Pis. lassamo* *C. Son.*, 16.

2. *x* before a consonant.

## Variants.

(a) *x (+ c)* remains: *exceptione* (*MS.* 283).

(b) *x (+ p)* remains: *experto* (*J.* 6).

(c) *x (+ s) > 1. c' (č)*: *preciutto* *përëxsüctūm* (*Gr. P.* 21);  
2. *sc (sk)*: *scocchi* *ëxsüctūm* (*Gr. P.* 67); 3. *st'*: *stioced* *ëxsücäŕt*

<sup>1</sup> Caix, *Origini*, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75.

(*Gr. P.* 36).—Cf. *Sen. eccesso, excepto*; <sup>1</sup>—*Luc. excepto B. Luc.*, 12; *preciutto*; <sup>2</sup>—*Pis. preciutto*.<sup>3</sup>

## J

## § 61. INITIAL J.

*j* > *g* in both old and modern Pistoiese: *gusto* (*Al.* 6), *gudicare* 7, *Gobo* 20, *ga jam* 47, *govare* 48, *gudice* 56, *guridizione* 57, *gustamente* 62, *gudico* = *giudicio* 63, *Guda* 64, *guratori* 70, *gamai* 71, *gustitia* 75, *goventudine* 76; *govane*, *goccolone* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Gotto* 21, *guramento* 44, *gudicie* 22.—Cf. *Sen. Gováni*, *gudisio*,<sup>4</sup> *gugno*, *gudice Crest.*, 39.

## Variants.

*j* > *di*: *diaceglio* (*M.* 38), *diaceglione* 41, *diacere* (*C.* 24).

## § 62. MEDIAL J.

1. Intervocalic *j*.

## Variants.

(a) *j* > *g'* (*ǵ*): *magiormente* (*Al.* 5), *magiori* 13, *pegio* 30, *pegiora* 63.—Cf. *Prat. maggiore Crest.*, 95;—*Sen. magio* 36.

(b) *j* > *g*: *magoremente* (*Al.* 67), *magore* 68.

2. *j* after a consonant.

(*n* +) *j* > (*n* +) *g*: *ingura* (*Al.* 8).

## H

## § 63. INITIAL H.

*h* remains in old Pistoiese: *honore* (*Al.* 5), *honesta* 7, *humile* 13, *huomini* 38, *homana* 48, *hora* (*J.* 14), *honestamente*, *habiendo* 15, *heride* 25, *homicidiale* (*Ap.* 91).

<sup>1</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 564.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>2</sup> *A. G.*, XII, 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Zs.*, IX, 565.



## Variants.

(a) *h* falls and the *l* of the article takes its place: *lamo* hāmūm (*Gr. P.* 15).

(b) *h* falls and *r* takes its place: *racinto* hyacinthum (*Ap.* 93), *ritropisia* hydrops + (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. *Luc. ritropico*; <sup>1</sup>—*Pis. ritropico*.<sup>2</sup>

## § 64. MEDIAL H.

## Variant.

Intervocalic *h* falls and *l'* takes its place: (*di*) *glieri* hēri (*M.* 79).

To be followed by the Morphology.

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<sup>1</sup>*A. G.*, XII, 123.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 151.

SIGNS OF TRANSCRIPTION.

———

I. VOWELS.

<i>e</i>	= closed <i>e</i> of the Italian.
<i>ɛ</i>	= open <i>ɛ</i> “ “ “
<i>o</i>	= closed <i>o</i> “ “ “
<i>ɔ</i>	= open <i>ɔ</i> “ “ “

II. CONSONANTS.

<i>c</i> ( <i>k</i> )	= voiceless velar.
<i>g</i>	= voiced “
<i>c'</i>	= palatal <i>c</i> .
<i>g'</i>	= “ <i>g</i> .
<i>þ</i>	= voiceless <i>th</i> in think.
<i>ð</i>	= voiced <i>th</i> in thine.
<i>č</i>	= voiceless <i>ch</i> in church.
<i>ǵ</i>	= voiced <i>č</i> = <i>j</i> in June.
<i>l'</i>	= <i>gl</i> of the Italian.
<i>n'</i>	= <i>gn</i> “ “ “
<i>ʂ</i>	= voiced <i>s</i> .
<i>z</i>	= <i>ts</i> .
<i>š</i>	= voiceless <i>sh</i> in shine.
<i>ž</i>	= voiced <i>š</i> .
<i>ž</i>	= “ <i>z</i> .